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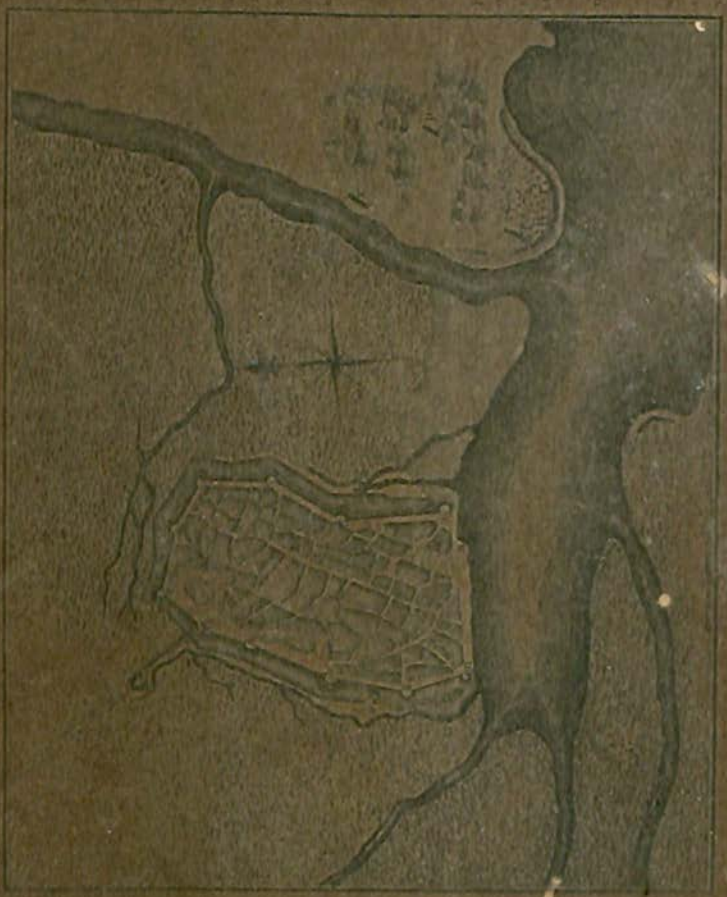

LORD CLIVE'S RIGHT HAND MAN

A MEMOIR OF COLONEL FRANCIS FORDE

BY

COLONEL LIONEL FORDE

LATE ROYAL FIELD ARTILLERY

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" The foundation of our Empire was laid, and its subsequent aggrandisement effected by an handful of men surrounded by hostile myriads. "

"A constellation of extraordinary characters, amongst whom stood prominent Clive, Lawrence, Forde and Coote, appeared in the earlier periods of the extension of our Asiatic dominions, as if decreed by fate, to erect the British Standard in the East."

East India Military Calendar.

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PREFACE

I was first tempted to write this *Memoir* as a matter of family interest and as a means of employing my spare time, during the long hours of a tropical summer.

In the valuable library of the Royal Artillery Mess at St. Thomas's Mount, Madras, I found most of the authorities whom I have quoted.

The Madras Government has also most courteously assisted me to a great extent, in causing to have copied several hitherto unpublished letters written by Colonel Forde, and which letters are deposited in the record room of Fort St. George. I have also received a large amount of help from the India Office of whose records I have made very free use.

A work of this nature does not admit of much originality and, in my case, the lack of it is an advantage. Where so many independent and more qualified authorities have given their opinions regarding the acts and character

of the subject of this *Memoir*, it would be out of place to offer any of mine.

For these reasons, I feel no hesitation in confessing that I have made prodigal use of all the available works to my hand; particularly so in the case of Orme's *Military Transactions of the British in Indostan*, which is the standard history of those times, and Malcolm's *Memoir of Robert, Lord Clive*. These two works have been largely used by me, as being most reliable.

Orme was a Member of Council at Madras in Clive's time and wrote his history as events occurred. Sir John Malcolm had access to the whole of Clive's public and private correspondence.

My first aim in writing this narrative did not go beyond publishing a book of extremely modest dimensions, for private circulation only; but by dint of looking through every available work and document, which narrated events of those times, I have, I trust, compiled a small book which may be of some little interest to those who have not made a regular study of the period, when England was fighting France and Holland for supremacy in Hindustan.

Owing to the fact of Colonel Forde's brilliant but short career being little known to the

general reader, there is a chance of my being in a position to bring to light fragments of history, which are only known to students of those years in which the foundation of our Indian empire was in an embryonic stage.

With these remarks, I shall conclude by hoping that, should this *Memoir* prove to be of any interest to those who may condescend to read it, it may be the means of whetting their appetite for a deeper study of the intensely interesting history of those times, which at first saw their countrymen, simple merchants at a few factories on the coast, rise to be the governing race of Southern India.

L. F.

Wimbledon. 1910.

INTRODUCTION

September 1754 was memorable in the annals of India, as being the date on which the first King's Regiment landed in that country. This regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Adlercron, was H.M's 39th Foot, now styled the first battalion Dorsetshire Regiment, and which bears the motto *Primus in Indis*, in commemoration of the event.

Forde, at that time a captain in the Regiment, was the second son of Matthew Forde of Seaforde, Co. Down, M.P. for Downpatrick in the Irish House of Commons, by Anne, daughter of William Brownlow of Lurgan. He was promoted Major on 13th November 1755.

Lieutenant Colonel Adlercron, being, what was termed in those days, a King's officer, took precedence above any officer of the same rank, belonging to the East India Company's forces, whatever his length of service might

be, and by this order, which had been specially issued by the Home authorities for the occasion, he superseded Lieutenant Colonel Stringer Lawrence in the chief military command. This order eventually placed Forde in officiating command of his battalion.

Affairs at this time were comparatively quiescent, until war broke out with France in the early part of 1757.

Beyond a few small expeditions against various native chiefs, nothing of great importance occurred for the first two and a half years of the regiment's tour of service in Madras, and there is no historical evidence to show that it was actively engaged.

A letter [1] written by Forde, on 11th October 1756, suggests that the regiment was quartered in Fort St. George, and had probably been there since its arrival in India. At the commencement of 1757, Major Forde suddenly appears in history for the first time, when he was placed in command of a detachment, with the local rank of Lieutenant Colonel. From this time until the end of 1759, his life in India was one of ceaseless activity in the field; after which he, as suddenly, disappears from public view.

[1] Appendix A.

His short and brilliant military career may be truly described as meteoric. With one exception his military actions were markedly successful. His three victories have each been deemed worthy of being emblazoned on the colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, the first battalion of which was then known as the 1st Bengal European Regiment, and afterwards as H.M's 101st Foot.

As regards Forde's character, there can be no doubt. Clive's recorded opinion of him could well stand alone, without question, and, although I have diligently searched every available authority, I have not come across a single adverse comment, either with regard to his military capacity or his social qualities.

I have been unable to discover the origin of Clive's high opinion of him, or the reason for appointing him to the chief military command in Bengal, for Forde was not present at Plassey, and, up to this time, his only recorded military experience in independent command was defeat.

It is, however, probable that Forde had been actively engaged in some of the minor expeditions against the several native chiefs, for

Malleson,[1] when discussing Clive's choice of Forde for the Bengal Command, states that "he had at hand an officer, not even second to himself in capacity, on the field of battle, and who had displayed coolness and ability under many trying circumstances."

On the other hand, Malcolm[2] writes, on the same subject, as follows :—

"The death of Major Kilpatrick, an officer who had been highly distinguished, occasioned a vacancy, in the command of the military at Bengal. Clive recommended that the station should be offered to Colonel Forde, an officer of whom he entertained the highest opinion. The terms in which this offer was conveyed are honourable to the reputation of him to whom it was made, and reflect great credit on Clive's discernment ; for no opportunities had been yet afforded to Colonel Forde of developing those talents as a soldier which soon afterwards rendered him so distinguished."

"I have deemed it of importance to dwell on these particulars. In nothing does the power of genius more strikingly display itself, than in the selection of persons most fit to be

[1] *Decisive Battles of India.*
[2] *Memoir of Robert, Lord Clive.*

employed, and in the application of their particular talents to the work for which they are suited."

"The personal efforts of one man can do little, but aided by the power of creating and employing subordinate instruments, can effect everything."

Whatever may have been his original reasons, there is no doubt that Clive's choice was fully justified by events, and that Forde was looked upon by him as his right hand man, when any difficult military situation had to be faced.

The subsequent treatment of Forde by the Court of Directors in England is set forth in the narrative and can tell its own tale; but Clive, true to his nature, never forgot his services. This was the one consolation afforded to this brilliant and high minded officer, who had resigned his King's commission, in order to serve the East India Company.

CHAPTER I

EXPEDITION TO NELLORE

1757

[1] At the beginning of 1757, the Nawáb of Arcot [2] had demanded of his brother Najíb-ullá, the Governor of Nellore, a subsidy of one hundred thousand Rupees above the customary tribute, which the country could afford to pay; but Najíb-ullá equivocated and apologised. Ikhlas-khan, the brother of the Nawáb's general, marching at this time with five hundred horse and other troops, to collect the tributes, advanced as far as Sarvepalli, a fort twelve miles south of Nellore, and proposed an interview with Najíb-ullá, who agreed to the visit, giving his oath on the Koran; but requesting Ikhlas-khan to come with few attendants, lest quarrels should arise between

[1] This chapter, except where otherwise stated, is taken from Orme.
[2] A Mahomedan Viceroy or Governor.

them and his own. The visit produced no change in Najíb-ullá's excuse for not paying the money, and Ikhlas-khan left the city in the evening, without harm, but after it had grown dark, his escort was attacked by an ambuscade of matchlock men in the bushes near the road, and one of them was killed.

The anguish which the Nawáb expressed at this second rebellion, rising in his family, determined the Madras Presidency to comply with his earnest request to punish Najíb-ullá. The Nawáb's troops, however, were not ready to march from Arcot before the 1st April, though the outrage happened on 21st February, during which time Ikhlas-khan was waiting for them with his detachment at Kala Hasti, seventy miles south west of Nellore.

The force from Madras was only one hundred Europeans, the company of fifty-six Caffres [1] and three hundred Sepoys, with one 18 Pounder, three 6 Pounders, four Cohorn mortars and one howitzer.

Lieutenant Colonel Forde of Adlercron's Regiment was appointed to command the expedition. The Sepoys and bullocks proceeded by land. The Europeans and Caffres, with

[1] Natives of Madagascar.

the artillery and stores, embarked on 1st April in a ship and a sloop; which anchored the next afternoon off a salt water inlet, seven miles to the north of Kistnapatam.

This town had a considerable trade and from it they expected the ordinary assistance, which a port is capable of giving, but the inhabitants, intimidated by the threats of Najíbullá, abandoned the town on the appearance of the vessels. These were employed seven days in effecting the disembarkation, with two masulahs [1] they had brought with them from Madras.

During this interval the Sepoys and bullocks arrived, but coolies [2] and more bullocks were necessary, before the detachment could move from Kistnapatam, and the Nawáb's army from Arcot was not near enough to supply them before the 22nd of the month.

The next day Colonel Forde marched and, on the 25th, joined the Nawáb's army at Sarvepalli. This was commanded by his brother Abdúl Waháb and amounted to ten thousand men, of which three thousand were cavalry.

On the 27th April the army encamped

[1] Surf boats used on the Madras coast.

[2] A native porter or labourer.

before Nellore. This town stands about five hundred yards to the south of the river Pennar, extending about twelve hundred yards from east to west, and six hundred yards on the other sides. The walls were of mud and only the gateway and a few of the towers of stone. The parapet was six feet high, with many port holes for small arms, made of pipes of baked clay laid in the moist mud which, when dry, consolidated with the mass; the common method of forming these defences in India.

The ditch had no water, and was, in many parts, choked by drifts of sand.

Najíb-ullá, on the approach of Abdúl Waháb, had gone away with fifteen hundred horse, and left the city to be defended by a resolute officer, with a garrison of four thousand Peons,[1] who were instructed and assisted by twenty Frenchmen sent from Masulipatam. The English troops encamped along the river in front of the town, those of the Nawáb at a distance higher up.

On the 29th, the 18 Pounder, with the field pieces, together with the cohorns and howitzer, began to fire from the mound of a tank, at the distance of three hundred yards;

[1] Portuguese term for undisciplined native foot soldiers.

but by mistake, against the strongest part of the wall, on which, in four days, they made no impression.

During the night of the 2nd May, all the artillery was moved to a battery erected about two hundred yards nearer the wall, which, in this part, was in a visibly ruinous condition. The 18 Pounder fired briskly during the next day and, by the evening, made a breach which appeared praticable.

Hitherto only one man had been wounded by the enemy's fire, which was chiefly from small arms, with an occasional shot from their artillery pieces. The next day Abdúl Waháb summoned the Governor, who answered with civility that he could not deliver the fort to anyone, without a positive order from Najíb-ullá whose salt he ate. It was therefore resolved to storm the next morning; but during this interval, the garrison had been diligently employed in counter-working the breach. On each side they cut a broad trench through the rampart and another on the ground within, which joined at right angles with those from the rampart and enclosed a space of some yards square. These trenches were to be defended by men armed with long pikes, whilst numbers

stationed, some along the ramparts, some in various pits dug for the purpose, and others in the adjacent houses, were to annoy the assailants, when on the breach, with stones, arrows and firearms, to which their own pikemen, being entrenched breast high, would be little exposed.

At sunrise on the 5th, the English troops advanced to the assault. The three hundred Caffres marched first, the three companies of Sepoys next, the Europeans in the rear. The enemy fired briskly as the line was approaching and more especially from the tower on the left of the breach.

Colonel Forde now ordered up a 6 Pounder from the battery to keep up, at the range of one hundred yards, a constant fire on the parapet of this tower, more indeed with the hope of intimidating than in the expectation of doing harm.

The first few Caffres who got up the breach were immediately stopped by the pikes, from advancing either forwards or on either hand, and had scarcely discharged their muskets before they were all wounded, on which the Sepoys, immediately behind, ran away in confusion, and the whole body in an instant broke,

but dispersed to the right and left of the rest of the line.

The Caffres, led by Ensign Elliot, took their place without trepidation and, having mounted, maintained their ground on the breach gallantly, endeavouring, after they had fired, to break down the pikes with their muskets and even to push into the trenches; but in vain, for in a few minutes four of them were killed and thirteen, with Ensign Elliot, wounded; on which the rest were called down. The Europeans who, during this combat, had remained thronged at the foot of the wall, now mounted, every man as he stood nearest, without regard to rank, order, or command. This assault continued half an hour, during which Captain Hunt was shot with an arrow. Callander, and Richard Smith, and Mr. Alexander, the Commissary, were bruised with stones, and with them, four of the soldiers killed and twenty-seven wounded on the breach, the enemy still being as active as ever.

Colonel Forde, who was at the foot of the breach, now ordered the retreat, which was made with more hurry than became troops who had hitherto behaved with so much courage. Every man, instead of waiting for his

officers and colours, ran as fast as he could to take shelter in the battery, and all passed the field piece without stopping to bring it away, until Captain Richard Smith, who brought up the rear, halted with a few of his own company, and afterwards, with the assistance of some of the Nawáb's horsemen who were near, dragged the field piece to the battery; during which two of his sergeants and two of the horsemen were wounded.

The Nawáb's army, during the assault, appeared in several bodies against different parts of the town, but their appearance nowhere withdrew the attention of the garrison from the defence of the breach. The vent of the 18 Pounder having become worn, it was impossible to renew the attack until other battering cannon had arrived from Madras, but Colonel Forde had already been informed by the Presidency that the French troops were acting in the field and threatened designs which might render it necessary to recall his detachment.

By the 13th the wounded were sufficiently recovered to march, and as no positive orders had as yet been received from the Presidency, Colonel Forde, in compliance with the repeated requests of Abdúl Waháb, crossed the Pennár

with the whole army in pursuit of Najíb-ullá who, it was said, still continued in the neighbourhood.

On the 15th they halted at Sangam, a pagoda of some note, thirty miles west of Nellore, when they were informed that Najíb-ullá had quitted the country and had gone to the French at Kondavir; on which the army returned to Sarvepalli, but by another road, leaving Nellore to the left.

On the way, Colonel Forde received several letters, signifying the increasing apprehensions of the Presidency; and on his arrival at Sarvepalli received express orders to return with the utmost expedition to Madras.

The following letters relating to the failure of the assault on the fort at Nellore were sent to Madras.

[1] James Alexander to Mr. Orme.

Camp at Nellore.
15th May 1757.

Sir,

We arrived here the 27th last past and opened our trenches against a part of the Town, which was discovered to be the strongest after we had play'd our Artillery against it to the 3rd inst. when at night we moved our batteries to another Quarter

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office) Vol. 48, p. 76.

and made a breach in the Walls. The 4th the Colonel desired the Nabob to write the Gov^r to surrender, otherwise the Breach being now practicable, he would order a General Assault and that, if it proved successful every Soul in the Place should be put to the Sword, to which he returned for Answer, it was inconsistent with his Honour to deliver up his Master's Fort and that he would stand the Consequence. This morning a General Assault was made, but I'm sorry to tell you that after standing 45 minutes of a prodigiously hot Fire from the Fort, the Blacks having deserted us we were obliged to retreat with the following loss. Captain Hunt wounded in the back by an arrow tho' I hope not dangerously, Captain Callander in the face by a Collary Pike and much bruised.

Ensign Elliot dangerously
Privates Killed 4 Wounded 21
Caffries „ 4 " 13
Seapoys about 50 killed and wounded.

Our Artillery ammunition is mostly expended. Our great Gun become near useless as the Vent is run. I think we can proceed no further in reducing the Fort without more Stores, which when received I make no doubt of the desir'd Success, as I assure you every one in his different Station has shew'd the utmost bravery.

I am Sir
with great sincerity
Your most obedient humble servant
Jas Alexander.

Extract of Fort St. George Select Consultations the 9th.[1]

May 1757.
Letter from Colonel Forde
Read as follows :

To the Hon'ble George Pigot Esq
and Select Committee.
Gentlemen

Last night I receiv'd the favour of the 30th Ult° since which we have had a most damnable Brush and suffer'd considerably as you will see by the inclosed List of the Killed and Wounded; the particulars are as follows.

Yesterday about noon having made the Breach practicable, I desir'd Abdul Wahab Cawn to write a letter to the Commander in the Fort, to let him know the consequences of standing an Assault, he gave for answer that he was resolved to stand it, let the Consequence be what it would and accordingly I made the necessary Dispositions for an Assault which was begun this morning at break of day in the following order. The Caffreys with Ensign Elliot at their head, began the Attack and marched with great resolution to the foot of the Breach, our three Companies of Seapoys followed them very close until they came within sixty paces of the Breach and then lay down in the Ditch and could not be

[1] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 61, p. 31, (India Office.)

got to advance a step further, so that our Europeans were oblig'd to march over them to the Breach, where joining the Caffreys, they advanced to the top of it, but were so warmly received by the People in the Fort with Pikes, Firelocks and Stones that it was impossible for them to get over. In this situation the fight was continued three quarters of an hour and then the Seapoys ran away as fast as they could towards our Battery. Seeing nothing could be done against so gallant a Defence, I thought it high time to retreat, which we did in very good order, and had not a Man hurt in the Retreat. No man has ever saw so brisk an Action while it lasted, and I must do the Officers and Men the Justice to say that they behaved with the most undaunted Resolution and Bravery. In the List of the Wounded I have mentioned only those who are rendered unfit for present Service, but there are very few but what have receiv'd small contusions with Stones or Pokes with Pikes, if you think it of consequence to take this Place, it will be necessary to send a greater Force of Europeans, at least 200 and another 18 Pounder and some Hand Grenades. We battered three days before we could make any Breach and have expended 322 large Shot, all our Shells and near 300 Six pound shot, we have musket ammunition sufficient; the Touch hole of the Battering Piece is so wide, one may thrust a Thumb in it. The Artillery men behaved extremely well. I have no dependance on any but our own People, and they are so reduced, that I shall attempt very little till I

have the Pleasure of knowing whether you will think proper to send a Reinforcement. The Doctor desires to have more Medecines sent him.

I have the honour to be
Gentlemen
Your most obedient humble Servant
Francis Forde.

Camp before Nellore
May 5th 1757.

On the receipt of the above letter the Council at Fort St. George agreed that no reinforcements could be sent, but that if Colonel Forde could effect nothing with the troops he had with him, he must embark the 18 Pounder with his heavy baggage on board the *Cuddalore* sloop and return to Madras.

CHAPTER II

OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE FRENCH

1757

[1] On the 15th May, intelligence of the French army marching from Ariyalúr to Trichinopoly was brought to Madras. The importance of Trichinopoly and conviction of the danger to which it was exposed, now superseded the reluctance of the Madras Presidency to encounter the French troops, until they knew what reinforcements they might expect from Bengal and Europe. They therefore resolved to enter French territories; but as the troops from Nellore had not yet arrived, those in Madras waiting for them, the English did not take the field until the 26th, when they marched under the command of Colonel Adlercron.

By various delays arising from attention to

[1] This chapter is taken from Orme.

European methods of warfare, they did not reach Chingleput until the 31st, although the distance was only thirty miles. Two days after came the welcome news that Trichinopoly had been relieved.

As the Army was abroad, the Presidency determined to employ it in the attack of Wandiwash, but waiting for the troops under Colonel Forde from Nellore and those of the Nawáb from Arcot, Colonel Adlercron still advanced slowly, arriving before Wandiwash on the 5th June.

On the 9th June,[1] Forde with his detachment joined Adlercron at his camp within five miles of Wandiwash.

The attack on Wandiwash failed, on which Colonel Adlercron resolved to quit it, but set fire to the Pettah[2] before leaving.

On the 11th, the army arrived at Uttiramerúr. By this time the Presidency were tired of the expense of a campaign which had produced so little effect, and their present propensity to caution, as well as parsimony, was increased by unexpected intelligence that the French had seized the Company's fac-

[1] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 6. p. 53. (India Office).

[2] Extra-mûral suburb, or town adjacent to a fortress.

tories in the province of Rajahmundry.

Vizagápatam was taken by Mons. Bussy in June and the French obtained entire possession of the coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam.

In this cloudy hour, the Presidency injudiciously ordered Colonel Adlercron to return immediately to Madras with the army, although a part of the French troops had arrived and were encamped under the walls of Wandiwash.

They were commanded by Saubinet, an officer of enterprise, who no sooner saw the English army retreating from Uttiranmerúr, than he advanced and took possession of this place; and as soon as he had heard that they had re-passed Chingleput, on their way to Madras, detached early on the morning of the 15th two hundred Europeans and five hundred Sepoys with two field pieces to retaliate on Conjeveram in revenge for the burning of the Pettah at Wandiwash.

Conjeveram was the largest open town in the Carnatic, and the most populous; it was also noted for the reputation of its Pagoda.

There were, at this time, in the Pagoda, two companies of Sepoys under the command of Sergeant Lambertson. The French troops

arrived at noon and, contrary to their expectation, were assailed by the fire of musketry from each side of the street, which obliged them to beat up the houses as the line advanced; while the English Sepoys, who knew their ground, continually escaped from one shelter to another, renewing their fire until they retreated into the Pagoda.

The enemy, exasperated, then advanced against the gateway, where the Sergeant was ready to receive them again, placing his Sepoys, some on scaffolding along the walls, and others among the open masonry of the vast tower over the gateway.

The two field pieces were of little service to dislodge them from such defences, and the Sergeant had obstructed the porch with large trees, laid with their branches outwards.

On this resistance, Saubinet thought it prudent not to persist, for his time was limited; he therefore marched to a distant quarter of the town, whence detachments were sent to collect whatever plunder could be conveniently carried away. In the evening they set fire to the town; at midnight they marched away, and the next day arrived at Uttiranmerúr.

The terror spread by this incursion was of

much more detriment than the mischief done at Conjeveram, for all the inhabitants of the open and fertile country along the Pálár abandoned their labours and occupations.

The Presidency of Madras sensible of and vexed at their error, immediately ordered the army to march back and recross the Pálár.

The army marched from St. Thomas's Mount on the 19th. The French, on their approach, retired from Uttiranmerúr to Wandiwash and entrenched themselves strongly within half a mile of the eastern side of the fort, summoning reinforcements from all their garrisons in rear. The English likewise waiting for detachments and the Nawáb's cavalry from Arcot, did not advance from Uttiranmerúr until the 29th, when an uncommon sickness broke out in the camp, men being suddenly seized and dying in twelve hours, and as many died as recovered.[1] The mortality continued for four days, but the camp being moved on the fifth, five miles beyond Uttiranmerúr, fewer men were seized, and in two days the sickness entirely ceased.

On the 11th July, the English encamped within sight of the enemy, whose Hussars

[1] Evidently cholera.

hovered about, but did not come near enough to receive any harm.

By this time, the strength of the two armies was nearly equal. The French had eight hundred Europeans, of which one hundred were Hussars, and fifteen hundred Sepoys; the English seven hundred Europeans, two thousand Sepoys, but no horse, excepting a few troopers to act as scouts.

On the 16th, five hundred of the Nawáb's horse arrived from Arcot, and the next morning, three hundred of them, with five companies of Sepoys, advanced towards the enemy's camp, followed by one hundred Europeans with a field piece. At the same time, the whole line formed up ready to fight a general action, if the enemy would give the opportunity. The enemy, however, recalled their advanced posts into the entrenchments and only sent out their Hussars, who ventured nothing. This trial convinced Colonel Lawrence, who had joined the army at St. Thomas's Mount, that nothing but advantageous circumstances could bring the French to action, and enough having been done to convince the country that the former retreat had not been in consequence of fear, he thought it best to

put an end to the expense of the campaign.

The army marched away on the 26th and the enemy made no attempt to harass them. On the 28th, the English arrived at Conjeveram where five hundred Europeans with fifteen hundred Sepoys remained in cantonments under the command of Colonel Forde. The remainder returned to the garrisons and stations, whence they had been drawn.

Thus ended this campaign, in which the whole force, that Madras and Pondicherry could bring into the field, remained forty days within a few hours march of each other and separated without a man being wounded on either side. Nevertheless, both were right, according to their different views and circumstances, in refraining from action.

During August, orders came from England recalling Colonel Adlercron and his regiment, but according to permission from the War Office, most of the men enlisted in the Company's service, and there being no conveyance to take away the rest, no alteration ensued in the strength of the army.

The officers who remained in India after the departure of the regiment were Captain

John Carnac, Ensigns Joseph Adnett and Martin Yorke. All these officers joined the Bengal army with a step in rank.

As soon as the English had settled themselves in cantonments at Conjeveram, the French commenced to ravage the country. A detachment immediately took possession of Uttiranmerúr, a much larger one with two field pieces marched into the district of Chittapet, where they were surprised and beaten by two hundred Sepoys and five hundred horse from the fort. This routed body, being reinforced, divided into two, one of which approached to within five miles of Arcot and the other to within ten miles of Conjeveram. These incursions were, however, so sudden and transitory, that no attempt was made by our troops to repel them.

One hundred Sepoys were sent from Arcot to assist Chittapet.

These August alarms were now succeeded by one of more consequence.

Of the three feasts which are annually celebrated at Tirupati, that which falls at the beginning of September is held in much higher devotion than either of the other two, and more money is collected in proportion

as the number of pilgrims is much greater.

At the commencement of June, Najíb-ullá, the rebel governor of Nellore, returned from Masulipatam, accompanied by eighty French soldiers, and remained quiet until now, when he took the field. He marched suddenly with his whole force and sat down before the fort at Cuddapore, within twelve miles of Tirupati, which belonged to the Nawáb. This act left no doubt of his intention to collect the revenue resulting from the approaching feast, which had for some years been assigned to the Company. On the first news of this danger, the Presidency ordered a detachment of one hundred Europeans, with two field pieces and three hundred Sepoys to march expeditiously from Conjeveram, under the command of Captain Polier. This expedition started on the 1st September. On the 6th, four of the Company's ships from England anchored in the Madras roads. The *Triton*, a frigate of twenty guns, belonging to the Company and commanded by Commodore James, had been cruising off Pondicherry, in order to intercept any of the enemy's vessels, or to give any intelligence to all English ships which they might come across.

These four ships had brought out some

recruits from England, who were to be landed as soon as possible at Fort St, David (Cuddalore), some of that garrison having been taken to serve in expeditions elsewhere. Our cruisers discovered these four Indiamen and joined them between Pondicherry and Fort St. David, and took on board all the recruits, who numbered two hundred. It was not, however, until ten o'clock at night on the 7th that they anchored off Fort St. David.

At dawn on the 8th, these cruisers discovered eleven ships at anchor at not more than three miles distance. The cruisers immediately got under weigh and were soon convinced that the strangers, although showing English colours, were French ships. Nevertheless Commodore James resolved to disembark the recruits in the *Revenge*, sending as many as the three ships' boats could carry to the outside of the surf, where they were received and landed by masulah boats, which ply between the shore and edge of the surf.

The three ships' boats returning, took the rest of the recruits, but before they could reach the ships again, the foremost of the enemy's squadron had come so near, that it was necessary to fly, and leave the boats.

The *Triton*, not being a good sailer, had not dared to delay, but proceeded on her way, with the recruits on board, when she was soon joined by the *Revenge*. These two cruisers were pursued up to Pondicherry, and when free, hailed one another. It was then agreed that the *Revenge* should proceed immediately with the intelligence to Bengal and the *Triton* to Madras, where she anchored early the next morning.

The Council at Fort St. George was immediately summoned. All the writers of the Settlement were not adequate to issue all the orders and advices which it became necessary to send. The main body of the army, under Colonel Forde at Conjeveram, was ordered to come to Madras, the detachment with Polier recalled from Tirupati : Caillaud with the Europeans to return from Madura to Trichinopoly. Instructions were sent to the English garrisons at Karanguli, Chingleput and Arcot, and intelligence of the danger to every other fort in the country subject to the Nawáb. The Council also sent advices to Bengal, to Bombay and to all the factories on the Malabar coast. A vessel was sent to cruise off Ceylon, to gain intelligence of the ships, daily expected

from England. Another was sent to anchor off Covelong, twenty miles to the south of Madras, in order that she might signal the first appearance of the French squadron, now at Pondicherry.

Several anxious days were passed in expectation that the French ships would bear down from Pondicherry and capture the ships from China, which were then anchored off Madras. Several days more, before even an imperfect account could be obtained as to the French ships, and the force which they had brought.

The squadron consisted of four ships of 60 guns, two of 50, three of 36, 30 and 22, and two of 16 guns, with a bomb-ketch; in all twelve vessels, most of which sailed from France at the end of December, but having been separated by a gale, did not arrive at Mauritius until the 25th of June.

They brought from France the Regiment of Lorrain, with fifty of the King's Artillery; the whole under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. They sailed on the 1st July to the Isle of Bourbon, where they took on board Monsieur Bouvet, who was appointed to conduct the squadron to India; he was the

Governor of this island and one of the ablest navigators belonging to France.

On the 15th they arrived at Madagascar, where they remained the rest of the month, taking in provisions; thence they sailed on the 1st August and, on the 9th September, landed at Pondicherry nine hundred and eighty three men of the Regiment of Lorrain, of which sixty three were sick, fifty artillerymen and sixty volunteers from Bourbon. In addition to these, there were on board twenty pieces of battering cannon, some mortars and a great number of bombs and balls.

When these ships, as before mentioned, were anchored in the roads at Fort St. David, the Council at that place fancied they were English men of war, with some of the Company's ships expected from England, and under this delusion sent one of the agents in a masulah to compliment the admiral and to deliver a letter from the Council at Fort St. George, in which the admiral was requested to cruise off Ceylon in order to encounter or intercept the enemy's ships and to protect the English shipping in those parts. It was confidently expected that Admiral Watson with the ships under his command would arrive from Bengal

by the middle of September, when every success might be expected from the junction of the two squadrons and even Pondicherry itself brought to risque.

The Agent did not perceive the mistake until it was too late to escape, but had time to conceal, as he thought, the letter between two planks of the seat. He was received on board with civility and, with the masulah, taken on to Pondicherry.

The Marquis de Soupires, on arrival at Pondicherry, summoned a mixed Council of the military, the marine, and civil government, at which he proposed that the ships and troops should immediately invest and blockade Fort St. David, but the letter from Madras to the English Admiral had been discovered in the masulah, and raised so much consternation in the French squadron and great apprehension that they would see, at any hour, a force bearing down upon them superior to their own, that Monsieur Bouvet declared he had done enough in landing the troops, and should sail immediately back to the Islands. No arguments could change his resolution, nor would he wait to disembark the artillery and heavy ammunition, because they served as part

of the ballast in the different ships, which it would require fifteen days to shift and reinstate in a condition making them seaworthy.

The sudden departure of the French ships diminished in some degree the apprehension raised by their arrival. The army at Conjeveram under Colonel Forde was ordered to encamp on the plain near Madras, the detachment under Polier to march back to Tirupati, until the feast at that place was over, and Caillaud was permitted to keep before Madura, in case there was any chance of capturing that place.

CHAPTER III

APPOINTMENT OF FORDE TO THE CHIEF MILITARY COMMAND IN BENGAL

1758

At the commencement of 1758, Forde, on the invitation of the Select Committee at Calcutta, was appointed by Clive to the command of the troops in Bengal, in place of Major James Kilpatrick, who had died from fever on the 15th October 1757.[1]

The sphere of Clive's selection was limited, and there are in his private letters, of this period, continued complaints of his being forced, from want of aid, to make personal efforts injurious to his health, which had never been good and which he now represents as declining from the effects of a nervous complaint, to which he had been subject from his youth.[2]

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, India Office, Vol. 29, p. 371.
[2] *Robert, Lord Clive*, Malcolm.

The letter inviting Forde to take up the command in Bengal was dated 14th November 1757, and again on 24th January 1758, the Select Committee at Calcutta wrote to that at Fort St. George proposing that, should Forde have set out for England in consequence of the order recalling Adlercron's Regiment, or should he for other reasons decline the appointment, Captain Caillaud should be appointed.

The outcome of this correspondence (Appendix B) was that Forde accepted the chief command at Bengal, on condition that he would be given the sum of five thousand pounds in cash by way of compensation for quitting His Majesty's Service, and that he would also receive all the honours, pay and emoluments hitherto appertaining to the post.

The reasons which Forde gave for making these demands were that he incurred the risk of His Majesty's displeasure by not returning with his regiment, that his acceptance would entail the resignation of the King's commission and of his future prospects in the British Service, which were considerable, and that, in justice to his family, he could not be expected to take these risks without being certain of a fair amount of compensation.

This letter (Appendix C) was dated 3rd February 1758, and discussed by the Bengal Select Committee on 23rd February, by which time Forde himself had arrived in Calcutta on a ship called the *Sally*.

The result of the deliberation, by the Select Committee at Calcutta, on the above letter, was to the effect that they could not assent to proposals of such a kind, being contrary to precedent, at the same time recognising the disadvantages accruing to Forde by remaining in India. They therefore replied to him in the following terms :— [1]

"Agreed we reply to Colonel Forde's letter conformable to these sentiments, but at the same time that we acquaint him it was not possible in Europe to foresee the present circumstances of the Company's affairs in India when His Majesty thought fit to recall the Regiment under Colonel Adlercron, and as the Crown had a particular regard to the interests and welfare of our Employers, we are inclined to think his stay at our request in such an Exigency would not displease His Majesty nor lose him the Rank he bore in His Majesty's Service if properly represented by our Hon'ble Masters which we shall command to be done in the strongest terms, and that he may be assured of the Rank,

[1] *Bengal Committee Consultations*, India Office, Range A, Vol. 2, p. 42.

Honors, Emoluments and Allowances as our Major in case he thinks proper to remain in the Company's Service."

On the other hand, a minority consisting of Messrs. Mannigham, Boddam and Pearkes, were of opinion that, as Colonel Forde, by being obliged to resign His Majesty's commission, would relinquish any chance of active service in Europe, and as the Company were in great need of the services of an able officer to succeed Colonel Clive, Colonel Forde's terms should be complied with as being reasonable and as being but a small equivalent for his prospects which he was giving up by entering the Company's service. (Appendix D).

To this reply, Forde sent the following letter[1] dated Calcutta, 25th February 1758.

"As the Europe Ship is so shortly to be despatched, I have no time to lose in demanding the favor of you to receive into your cash the money remaining in your hands, on account of the Government, amounting to about one hundred and twenty thousand Arcot Rupees and to give me Bills for the same."

"Yourselves, Gentlemen, must be sensible that I cannot answer leaving behind me any of the Publick Money and, as The Government has upon

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, India Office, Vol. 30, p. 195.

every Occasion shewed the utmost readiness to assist you, I have no doubt that you will with equal readiness comply with the Request I have now the honour to make you, in the name of the King, my Master.

I am
Gentlemen
Your most obedient humble Servant
Fran[s] Forde."

He also wrote to Clive on the 1st March 1758 informing him of his intention to leave India consequent on the refusal of the Select Committee at Calcutta to grant his request for £5000 compensation. The letter is worded as follows :—[1]

"I received a letter under date the 14th November 1757 from the Committee of this Place requesting my Presence here, and the Gentlemen of the Committee of Fort St. George, to whom I communicated the Letter having been pleased to second very strongly their request, I took the first opportunity that offered on the Coast of proceeding hither, where I arrived on the 21st ulto."

"From the pressing manner in which these Gentlemen wrote to me, I had no doubt that they would very readily give me some equivalent to compensate for quitting my Rank and Pretensions in His Majesty's Service, and flattered myself that

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), vol. 292, p. 141.

the sum of £5000 which I demanded would have been deemed reasonable and without any hesitation have been complied with. Considering the extraordinary risque I run, I was bound in justice to my Family to secure something for them in case of accident to myself. The Council have however thought proper to refuse my Services on the Terms I required, alledging that they cannot answer the making such a Bargain to their Masters. I have therefore determined to take my passage to Europe upon the *Elizabeth* and am sorry the time is too short for me to be favor'd with your commands."

"I most heartily wish you, Sir, a continuation of your Success and a happy and speedy return to your Country, there to enjoy the fruits of your Victories and the publick Applause, which you are so justly entitled to for the many and eminent Services you have done in these parts."

This letter had the effect of Clive giving an order to his Attorneys to pay to Colonel Forde the sum of £2500 down, and of the Select Committee at Calcutta granting the remaining moiety out of public funds (Appendix E).

Forde thereupon accepted the Command in Bengal and was given his seat on the Board as the third member of Council. This appointment was dated 6th March (Appendix F), and of course subject to the approval of the Court

of Directors of the East India Company in London.

It appears however from a letter (Appendix G), which Forde wrote to Clive on the 29th March, that the latter had made an offer to increase the amount of compensation which Forde had demanded, and which offer was refused by Forde on the ground that, as he had already stated he would be satisfied with £5000 and no less, it would be equally unreasonable for him to receive more.

At this time Forde appears to have taken up his quarters at Kasim Bazar and to have afterwards moved to Sydabad, from which places a good deal of correspondence seems to have taken place between him and Clive, partly on official and partly on private affairs.

One of these letters (Appendix H) is given, not as being of any particular interest to this Memoir, but as having been written by the subject of it.

No event of any importance occurred between March 6th, when Forde accepted the Command in Bengal, until Clive was appointed and accepted the office of Governor and President of the Council at Fort William

on 26th June,[1] on which Forde wrote to Clive as follows :—

"Sir"

"This day I received your Favor of the 24th and do most heartily congratulate myself and every other Person in Bengal on your Resolution of taking the Government. I also return my sincere Thanks to my Brethren of the Council for consulting the Publick Good so much as to make you an offer of it. I don't know anything cou'd have happened at present to give me so much real Satisfaction as this Event."

"I assure you there was nothing in the conduct of the Captains that gave me any disgust, they all either had or pretended to have Business to transact at Calcutta, which requir'd their Presence, and as I had four duty Captains here, I thought I cou'd spare them for a while. I am extremely oblig'd to you for the kind Regard you have always shewn for my Interest and much more so for the favorable Opinion you entertain for my Capacity as an Officer, which I shall always endeavour to maintain; and when the Officer who commands the Troops is supported by the Governor, I think Military Affairs must goe right."

"I intirely agree with you in the necessity there is of incorporating the Forces and am very glad you propose doing it immediately. We have now about seven hundred Europeans exclusive of Sergeants

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (India Office,) Vol. 30.

and Corporals. What do you think of adding three hundred Topasses [1] to them and making two Battalions. If you will give me leave to pay my respects to you in Person for two or three days, we may pick out some Orders proper to be given out as Standing Orders. I have some by me out of which we may extract, what are proper for this Country, and we may talk over some other Matters relating to the Service. I am told the *Hardwicke* has brought out a Great Supply of Military Stores, they are much wanted indeed."

"I am Sir
Your most obedient humble Servant
Fran[s] Forde." [2]

Sydabad.
June 27th 1758.

[1] Half caste Portuguese who wear topees or European hats.
[2] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 157.

CHAPTER IV

EXPEDITION TO THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

1758

Intelligence of the fall of Fort St. David arrived on the 29th June, and there was now no doubt of Monsieur Lally's intention of besieging Fort St. George, as soon as the North East Monsoon would compel the English squadron to leave Madras.

On the 4th July letters were received from Ananda Ráz Gajpati, Rajah of Vizianagram, who being dissatisfied with the arrangements made by Monsieur Bussy had waited an opportunity to take his revenge. This occurred soon after Monsieur Bussy's departure, he having been recalled by Monsieur Lally to the Carnatic.

Ananda Ráz now marched from Vizianagram and retook Vizagapatam from the French, of which he sent news, at the same time offering

the place to the Presidency of Madras, requesting them to send a large detachment which he intended to join with his own forces, and take the four Provinces which the French had obtained from the Subahdar [1] of the Deccan. Finding, however, that no troops could be spared from the Carnatic, he now made the same proposal to the Presidency of Bengal, where the project seemed delusive and chimerical to everyone but Clive. However, nothing could be settled before September, when ships would be able to sail from the Hugli and, by that time, Monsieur Lally's intentions might declare themselves.

More letters were received in August from Ananda Ráz, giving news of quarrels between Monsieur Bussy and Nizam Ali at Aurangabad. Ananda Ráz repeated more earnestly and with greater confidence his request for a body of troops to drive the French out of the Ceded Provinces, and now proposed as equally feasible, the reduction of Masulipatam. Letters to the same purpose were sent, at the same time, to Mr. Bristol, who had been the Agent at Cuttack. He had visited Ananda Ráz and been well received by him.

[1] Hindu term for Viceroy.

A few days after this, intelligence had arrived from Madras of an engagement, which had taken place on the 3rd August, between the squadrons; at the same time recording the opinion that the French ships had been so much disabled as to compel them to return to their islands to refit; that the French army was before Tanjore, and that Mons. Bussy was on his march from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, whence he was to effect a junction with Mons. Lally.

This measure was taken to indicate Mons. Lally's intention of exerting his whole strength in the Carnatic, and that there was no apprehension of any attempt against Bengal. For this reason, it was expected that Bengal would send a considerable force, in order to enable Madras to stand the brunt of the impending conflict which must ensue.

No one doubted that Madras would be besieged when the North East Monsoon set in, unless reinforcements could arrive before, but Clive did not entertain the surmise that it could be taken whilst it had provisions. Troops were known to be on their way from England, and if the ships carrying them were unable to make Madras this year, they would probably arrive early next year.

It was, however, deemed necessary to alter the inequality between the English and French forces on the Coromandel coast. The preference which each of the Company's Presidencies was naturally inclined to give to its own safety, suggested apprehension that Madras would, whatever might be the necessity of Bengal, detain on their own service any troops that might be sent to their assistance.

In consequence of these conclusions, it was determined not to send a body of troops to Madras, but to employ all that could with prudence be spared, in concert with Ananda Ráz, against the French in the Ceded Provinces, the country usually known by the name of the Northern Circars. This would either bring about a division of the French troops in the Carnatic or, if this precaution were neglected, would deprive them of all their possessions, which they had acquired from the Subahdar of the Deccan.

Should any danger, during the expedition, threaten Bengal, the troops were only to obey the orders of Calcutta.

The conduct of the expedition was committed to Colonel Forde, who appointed Mr. William Smith as his secretary. Mr. George

Grey was sent to Cuttack to gain intelligence, and Mr. John Johnstone was despatched in the *Mermaid* sloop, to make the necessary preparations, in concert with Ananda Ráz at Vizagapatam.

The force allotted to the expedition was five hundred Europeans, including the artillery, two thousand Sepoys and one hundred Lascars.[1] The artillery was composed of six field pieces, brass 6 pounders, six 24 pounders, a howitzer and an 8 inch mortar. Eighty thousand rupees and four thousand gold mohurs, equivalent to sixty thousand rupees, composed the military chest, for immediate expenses.

The forces embarked on three of the Company's ships, lately arrived from Europe; the *Thames*, a private ship of seven hundred tons and two pilot sloops. The *Thames* also carried a great quantity of provisions intended for Madras, whither she was to proceed as soon as possible.

On account of altercations in the Council, for the measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all of them, and by delays in equipping the forces, the vessels were detained in the Hughli until the beginning of October.

[1] Followers of a lashkar or army.

Their departure [1] left the English force in Bengal barely equal to what they carried away.

Clive was censured by many as hazarding the territories of Bengal by despatching this expedition, but all his private letters show that he was very sanguine in anticipation of that brilliant success which was the result of this measure. After expressing, in a private letter [2] to Mr. Drake Senr. dated 30th December 1758, his hope of expelling, by the operation of this detachment, the French from Golconda, and aiding the Presidency of Fort St. George, he concludes in the following words:— "Success is in the hands of the Almighty, but I own I entertain the most sanguine expectations from the late armament."

Mons. Bussy, when recalled to the Deccan, had left a small body of men under his successor, the Marquis de Conflans, in the Northern Circars, and Ananda Ráz, no longer overawed by the presence of a French force, and desiring to throw off his dependence upon that nation, courted the alliance of the British Government. Clive appears, at this period, to have

[1] This was the first occasion on which Bengal Sepoys were sent on active service by sea.

[2] *Robert, Lord Clive*, Malcolm.

been well informed of the situation of parties at the Court of the Subahdar of the Deccan. He had received an overture from Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad, who, prompted by his hostility to Bussy, solicited the aid of the English. In his answer to this letter, dated 27th July 1758, Clive gives that Prince every assurance of friendship, and about two months afterwards, 17th September 1758, he informs him of his having sent Colonel Forde into the Circars, to retake settlements in the Subahdar's dominions, from which the English had been expelled by the French; and requests Nizam Ali Khan to aid him and to obtain the assistance of his brother the Subahdar in accomplishing that just object.

To Ananda Ráz Gajpati, Rajah of Vizianagram, Clive wrote (7th July and 17th September 1758), in terms calculated to conciliate his continued friendship; he congratulated him on the advantage he had gained over the French and desired him to consult with Colonel Forde on the operations necessary to expel that nation from the Northern Circars. He also stated his expectation of the Rajah benefitting so much by the aid of the force that he would contribute to its expenses. It

was a serious error to repose such confidence on this sort of supply. It failed; and its failure caused great delays and nearly defeated the whole object of the expedition.

Clive appears to have dispatched treasure for this corps the moment he learned that none was likely to be recovered, either from Ananda Ráz or the revenues of the country; but the activity of the French Corps of Observation prevented, for some period, Colonel Forde from receiving the benefit of this supply.

Whilst the collected forces of both nations in the Madras Presidency were awaiting the impending conflict, each were equally solicitous concerning the success of the armament sent from Bengal into the Northern Provinces.

Mr. Johnstone, who had been sent from Calcutta to concert preparations with the Rajah of Vizianagram, arrived on the 12th September at Vizagapatam, of which the Rajah's officers there put him in possession as the Company's representative. The Rajah himself was encamped with his forces at Kásimkota, a fort twenty miles to the west of Vizagapatam and fifteen miles inland from the sea. His letters to Mr. Johnstone expressed much satisfaction that the English troops were

coming, but signified his intention not to furnish any money towards the expenses.

As stated before, the Expedition was delayed in the Hugli until the beginning of October. The delay, in the first instance, was caused by the prevalence of bad weather and afterwards, according to letters written by Forde to Clive (Appendix J), by the inability or unwillingness of the pilots to take the ships down the river.

On the 3rd October, Clive wrote to Forde (Appendix K) informing him of a rumour that a French 74 gun ship had put into Masulipatam, but had since sailed for the Islands. Clive considered it possible that the French had obtained news of the projected expedition and that there was, in consequence, a probability that Forde's ships might be intercepted. He therefore warned Forde to take proper precautions in case the surmise should prove true.

To this letter Forde replied on the 5th (Appendix J [2]) assuring Clive of the falsity of the rumour. That he had spoken with several ships and they all agreed that the French had quitted the Coast, and that no ships had either been seen or heard of cruising to the northward.

On the 6th October Forde wrote[1] saying the ships were then at anchor below Ingalee and that he hoped by the evening of the 7th he would drop the pilots; this, however, did not occur until 8 a.m. on the 9th, when he reported the weather fine though the wind was not fair.[2]

From a journal[3] kept by the Captain of the *Hardwicke*, on which ship Forde sailed, the Expedition experienced light and pleasant winds and anchored at Vizagapatam at 4 p.m. on the 20th. The same evening, Forde landed under a salute of fifteen guns, two of the Company's ships were sent back to Bengal but the *Hardwicke* and two sloops remained.

The troops moved from Vizagapatam on the 1st November and, on the 3rd, joined the Rajah's army at Kásimkota, whence it was determined to march to Rajahmundry, where the Marquis de Conflans had collected the French troops from all parts. They were already advancing to attack the Rajah, but on hearing that the English troops were moving to join him, they halted and encamped.

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), vol. 292, p. 169.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 292, p. 173.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 63, p. 1.

Mr. Johnstone had despatched the sloop, in which he came, with an account to Madras of his reception at Vizagapatam, on receipt of which, that Presidency immediately sent away Mr. Andrews, with several assistants to re-establish the factory under their own authority. They also sent Captain Alexander Callander, an officer on the Madras Establishment, to act as Colonel Forde's second in command. The vessel which brought them arrived at Vizagapatam on the 21st November, when Andrews with Callander immediately went to the camp, which by long halts and short marches had not yet got further than thirty miles beyond Kásimkota. Various excuses were made by the Rajah in extenuation of this delay, but the real cause was his repugnance to furnish the money which Colonel Forde demanded, at which the latter was not a little offended by his evasive behaviour. Mr. Andrews, who had for a long time been personally known to the Rajah, adjusted their differences by a treaty, which stipulated "that all plunder should be equally divided; that all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah, who was to collect the revenue; but that the seaports and towns

at the mouth of the rivers should belong to the Company, with the revenue of the Districts annexed to them; that no treaty for the disposal or restitution, whether of the Rajah's or of the English possessions, should be made without the consent of both parties; that the Rajah should supply fifty thousand rupees a month for the expenses of the army, and six thousand to commence from their arrival at Vizagapatam for the particular expenses of the officers." (Appendix L.)

He held out also other proposals of a future alliance which he had not yet authority to ratify.

CHAPTER V

THE BATTLE OF CONDORE[1]

1758

The united forces, which moved in earnest on the 3rd December, came in sight of the enemy encamped in a strong position, forty miles north east of Rajahmundry and twelve miles from Samulkota. This position commanded the high road near a village called Galapul, and was in sight of a fort called Peddipur.

The French force under the command of the Marquis de Conflans consisted of five hundred European infantry, many more pieces of artillery than they could use at once, a great number of local troops, of whom five hundred were horse, and six thousand Sepoys.

Of the English force from Bengal, only

[1] Description given in a letter from Martin Yorke to Orme. *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 72, p. 22.

about thirty Europeans and a few Sepoys were wanting. These had been left sick at Vizagapatam, so that there were in the field four hundred and seventy Europeans and nineteen hundred Sepoys. The Rajah of Vizianagram had five hundred indifferent horse and five thousand foot; some with ancient firearms, the rest with pikes and bows; but he had collected forty Europeans, who managed four field pieces, under the command of Mr. Bristol, besides which his own troops had some useless cannon.

On the 6th, the English and the Rajah's army advanced and took possession of a village called Chámbal, within four miles of the enemy. Each deemed the position of the other too strong to be attacked, on which Colonel Forde, as the only means by which he could tempt the enemy to leave their position, resolved to march round and regain the road to Rajahmundry in their rear, by passing under the hills to their left, where the enemy could not derive much advantage from their horsemen.

The Rajah approved, and on the 7th at four in the morning, the English troops were in motion, but those of the Rajah, with their usual indolence, were not ready to march.

Near the foot of the hills, about three miles to the right of the village of Chámbal, was another called Condore, to gain which, the English troops filed from the right, and were on the march, when at daybreak they heard a heavy cannonade in the direction of the Rajah's camp. This was from six guns which the Marquis de Conflans, ignorant of Colonel Forde's march, had sent on during the night, under the guidance of an intelligent deserter, who had noticed a spot from which the artillery could fire on the camp.

The Marquis de Conflans was following up to support them with his whole army and the remainder of his field pieces.

The Rajah sent message after message, on which the English troops returned to his relief; his own, however, were removing themselves as fast as they could. They eventually joined the English in much confusion and marched out with them to the village of Condore, where all arrived at eight o'clock.

The enemy continued the fire from their artillery at long range, as long as any of the English or Rajah's troops remained within probable reach.

When arrived at Condore, the army was

just as far as before from the French camp at Galapul, but with more favourable ground between them, with a village midway which would afford a strong advanced post.

The Marquis de Conflans imagined that the English troops had marched from their camp in order to take possession of this village and, under this idea, he crossed the plain to prevent it. He succeeded in his wish unopposed, for Colonel Forde remained halted at Condore, so that he might regulate his future movements by those of the enemy. The Marquis de Conflans imputed this inaction to a consciousness of inferiority, and now imagined that the English intended to march back to Chámbal, to prevent which he formed his line, and advanced in much haste and disorder.

The French battalion of Europeans was in the centre, with thirteen field pieces divided on their flanks, the five hundred horse were on their left, three thousand Sepoys formed the right wing, and the same number the left; with each wing were five or six pieces of cumbrous cannon.

The English army drew up with the Europeans in the centre, the six field pieces divided on their flanks, and eighteen hundred Sepoys

equally divided on the wings. Colonel Forde placed no reliance on the Rajah's infantry and horse, so ordered them to keep aloof. All this rabble kept in rear, but the Europeans under Bristol, who worked four field pieces belonging to the Rajah, advanced and took up their position alongside the artillery on the left of the English battalion. The line, having had time, were in exact order and had advanced a mile beyond Condore, under a heavy fire from the enemy's guns.

At length, the impetuosity of the enemy's advance, outmarching their cannon, obliged the English line to halt for action. It so happened that the whole of the European battalion [1] stopped near and opposite to a field of Indian corn which, being a tall crop, entirely intercepted them from the view of the enemy. The Sepoys, however, were fully exposed on the plain. This circumstance prompted Forde to resort to stratagem.

The Sepoy battalion, besides the regimental colour, had several small banners for each company and were clothed in red jackets, which they were wearing for the first time. Colonel

[1] 1st. Bengal European Regiment, now the 1st. Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers.

Forde ordered this battalion to furl their colours and let them lie on the ground during the action.

The Sepoys and horse on the enemy's wings greatly outstretched those of the English, and came on in a curve to gain their flanks. The French battalion in the centre, instead of advancing parallel to where they might have judged the centre of the English line to be, inclined obliquely to the right, which brought them beyond the field of Indian corn, and opposite to the Sepoys on the left wing, whom from the absence of their usual banners, and wearing red jackets, they at first took to be the English battalion. Respecting them as such, they halted to dress their ranks before they engaged, and then advancing began to fire volleys, but at the distance of two hundred yards.

Nevertheless, this was sufficient; for the Sepoys seeing themselves attacked in the open by Europeans in front, and the horse and the masses of the enemy's Sepoys gaining their rear or coming down on their flanks, scarcely preserved courage to deliver their fire, hurried, scattered and without command, when they immediately broke and ran away to shelter

themselves in the village of Chámbal, being pursued by the enemy's horse.

This success was greater than the enemy expected, and several platoons of the French battalion were setting off to pursue them also, when they saw a line of men with shouldered arms marching fast and firm from behind the Indian corn, across their path, to occupy the ground which the Sepoys had abandoned.

Colonel Forde had been with the Sepoys before their flight, encouraging them to be resolute, but saw by the usual symptoms that they would not stand the shock. This prepared him for the judicious movement, which was now being performed with so much steadiness and spirit. Captain Joseph Adnett, commanding on the left, led the line, and as soon as the last files had cleared the corn, the word was given, when the whole halted and faced towards the enemy. This movement was quickly executed, for the foremost man had not more than three hundred yards to march, the field pieces being left behind.

During this short interval, the French battalion were endeavouring with much bustle to get into order again, for some of their platoons had advanced a considerable distance

in front of the others ; the fire of the English line therefore commenced before they were ready. It was delivered by divisions, that is, the whole battalion divided into five, and commenced from that under Captain Adnett on the left. This was within pistol shot and brought down half of the enemy's grenadiers. The fire continued, and before the time came round for Adnett's division to repeat their fire, the whole of the enemy's line was in confusion and turned about, running fast to regain their guns which had been left half a mile in rear.

The ardour of the English battalion was so keen to pursue that Colonel Forde thought it best to indulge it, although not certain of the success of the Sepoys on the right, but concluded that the enemy's Sepoys, who were to attack them, would not continue long when they saw their European battalion completely routed.

The order was given for the battalion to march in divisions, the left leading. Nothing could repress their eagerness. All marched too fast to keep their ranks, excepting the fourth division under Captain Martin Yorke who, in order to have a reserve handy in case his battalion were broken by their impetuosity,

obliged his men to keep together and march steadily.

The French battalion rallied on reaching their guns. Their artillery commenced firing as soon as the ground was clear of their own troops, and killed some men; this only spurred on the English battalion to come to close quarters. Captain Adnett now fell mortally wounded, but his men, rushing on, drove the enemy from their guns, and the remainder coming on with the same spirit caused the French battalion to abandon the field.

The Sepoys and horse of the enemy's right wing were in their turn panic-stricken when they saw the rout of their French battalion. They all turned and retreated together to the camp.

The enemy's left wing of Sepoys behaved better and advanced against those of the English, but the latter, encouraged by the assistance of their field pieces on their right, by the ardour of the Europeans and by the spirit of their own commander, Captain Ranfurly Knox, maintained their ground, facing and firing in various directions behind the banks of the rice fields, in which they were drawn up.

The enemy's left wing nevertheless continued to fire at long range, until they saw their European battalion abandoning the guns and the Sepoys and horse of the right wing retiring with them to camp, when they also went off.

Captain Knox then advanced with his own Sepoys to join the European battalion. He brought up with him the six field pieces and had collected most of the fugitives of the left wing. Messages were continually sent to the Rajah to advance, but he and his troops could not be prevailed upon to leave the shelter of a large tank, at this time dry, in which they, and himself in the midst of them, had remained cowering from the commencement of the action.

As soon as the Sepoys had come up and all the necessary dispositions were made, which took an hour, Colonel Forde advanced to attack the enemy's camp, but in order not to delay the march, left the field pieces to follow. A deep hollow way ran along the edge of the camp, behind which appeared a considerable number of Europeans drawn up as if they intended to defend it, and several shots were fired from heavy cannon commanding the approach.

Just as the English troops came near and

the first division of the Europeans were about to deliver their fire, the guns were abandoned, on which all the enemy turned about and retreated in the utmost confusion; but as the English battalion was close on their heels, many threw down their arms and surrendered. The Marquis de Conflans had previously sent away four of the smallest field pieces and the money of the military chest on two camels. The spoil of the field and camp was thirty pieces of cannon, most of which were brass, fifty tumbrils and other carriages laden with ammunition, seven mortars from thirteen to eight inch calibre, and a large number of shell; one thousand draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. Three of their officers were killed on the field and three died of their wounds the same evening; seventy of their rank and file were killed or mortally wounded; six officers and fifty rank and file were taken prisoners and the same number of wounded were supposed to have escaped.

Of the English battalion, Captain Adnett and fifteen rank and file were killed, Mr. Macguire, the paymaster, and Mr. Johnstone, the Commissary, who had joined the Grenadiers, two officers and twenty rank and file were

wounded. The Sepoys had one hundred killed and a greater number wounded.

"Thus ended the battle of Condore[1], one of the most brilliant actions on military record, which, however, is generally little known or mentioned." The Marquis de Conflans, changing horses, arrived at Rajahmundry at full gallop before midnight, to which place most of the enemy retreated.

No honorary distinction for this engagement was given until, by Fort St. George Government General Order dated 12th March 1841, the Madras Government authorised, under some misapprehension, the 1st Madras European Regiment, now the 102nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, of which not a man, except Captain Callander, was present at the action, to inscribe the word *Condore* on its colours.

The distinction has since been placed on the colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, the only corps now existing which is, as representing the 1st Bengal European Regiment, entitled to wear it.

At this time, both battalions of the Madras European Regiment were besieged in Fort St. George.

[1] *History of the Bengal Army*, Broome.

The extract from the above quoted order is as follows :— "Condore where it greatly distinguished itself under Colonel Forde in December 1758."

The Madras Government must have confused this battle with a small action in which Clive, then a captain, was engaged, at a place of the same name near Tanjore in 1751, but the wording of the above Order precludes any possibility of this action, which was no more than a skirmish, having been meant.[1]

Ananda Ráz had so small an idea of the importance of immediately pressing the French, that he did not arrive at Rajahmundry, where Colonel Forde, with his troops, was awaiting him, until the 16th, ten days after the battle, although the distance was only forty miles.

Ananda Ráz had promised to make the first payment, as stipulated in the treaty, as soon as he was put in possession of the fort at Rajahmundry and, placing confidence in his words, Colonel Forde had lent him twenty thousand rupees before he marched with the English from Kasimkota. This sum, with a supply to

[1] *History of the Bengal Army*, Broome.
This is commented on and acknowledged as correct by Wilson in the *History of the Madras Army*.

the factory at Vizagapatam, and the expenses connected with the operations in the field, had absorbed all the money which had been sent from Bengal. Colonel Forde had nothing but the Rajah's promises with which to pay the troops for the month of December. Still relying on these promises, he crossed the Godaveri on the 23rd, hoping to arrive in front of Masulipatam before the French had recovered from the stunning blow of the defeat.

The Rajah neither followed nor sent any money and, as it would have been vain to have attempted even the march without both, Colonel Forde, with much vexation and resentment, recrossed the river with all the troops on the 26th.

The Rajah imagined they were returning to punish him, and, in his fright, fled immediately to the hills which skirt the province, about twenty miles to the north of Rajahmundry.

Colonel Forde, for the sake of easier communication with Vizagapatam, encamped at Peddapore, a fort ten miles to the west of Condore, and not to be confounded with the village near which the battle had been fought.

On the 23rd, the ship *Thames*, laden with

all kinds of provisions, arrived off Madras. She brought the news of Colonel Forde's victory, and the Captain sent the following account of it in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Presidency :—[1]

To the Hon'ble George Pigot Esq.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to congratulate you on the Success of our Arms in Golconda, Colonel Forde engaged the French Army the 7th Instant which he intirely routed, and took thirty five pieces of Cannon, all their Camp Baggage and Stores, both Publick and Private, their Number consisted of five hundred Europeans, four thousand Seapoys and a large Country Force, of them only one hundred and fifty of the French escaped. Our Loss is very inconsiderable, Captain Adnet killed, Donneland, Johnstone, M^cGwire, Moranweek[2] Wounded and about thirty Private Men. This Action is the more Glorious as our Force amounting to no more than Four hundred and fourteen Europeans and Eighteen hundred Seapoys and no Assistance from our Allay'd Rajah. I left Vizag on the 20th Instant. I have on board Provisions for your Garrison, a list of which I have inclosed. Likewise 100 Bales of Company's Cloth from Mr. Andrews.

[1] *Public Sundry Book* (Fort St. George), p. 236.

[2] Lieutenants Moran and Wick. See Forde's letter.

Should you be pleased to send off Boats for the Cargo, I beg you'll order the same boats to bring off Ballast. I am in great Distress for an Anchor and Cable, having lost two at Vizag. I therefore request the favour you'll send one off as soon as possible and as soon as the wind will permit, I will Anchor as you direct.

I am with due Respect &c &c.
H. Wedderburn.

Ship *Thames*
23rd. December 1758.

On receipt of this letter, the Governor and Council of Fort St. George passed a Resolution[1] that Colonel Forde's victory be celebrated by firing twenty one guns, pointed upon the enemy's quarters, from the northern bastions and that a *feu de joie* be fired by the infantry of the whole garrison drawn up in the covered way.

This resolution was carried out by order[2] of Colonel Stringer Lawrence, then in military command of the besieged garrison.

Immediately after the repulse of the French, Colonel Forde wrote to Mr. Andrews as follows:—[3]

[1] Appendix M. (1).
[2] Appendix M. (2).
[3] *Public Sundries* (Fort St. George), Vol. xiii. p. 324.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that I engaged the French this Morning at Ten of the Clock and that I have gained a Compleat Victory.—I cannot inform you of the Particulars exactly of the Slain, as I pursued them three miles over the field of Battle to their Tents which I am now in possession of. We have six Officers Prisoners and Fifty Men, and at least Twenty five Pieces of Cannon and hope in three or four Days more to give a better account of them, as I intend to pursue them with all Diligence to Rajahmundry or where ever they go. If the Rajah and his People had not behaved so dastardly as they did, there would not have been a Single Man escaped. Please to send Copys of this to Madras and Bengal as I am so much fatigued that I cannot possible write any more at present. In a few days time I shall write more fully."

"I am &c &c Francis Forde.

"Captain Adnutt is killed.

Captain Donnellan, Lieutenant Wick, Moran and Mr. Johnstone Wounded.

Mr. McGuire received a Contusion on his breast by a Musket Ball.

Send away Captains Wedderburn and Lewis immediately."

On the 11th December, Colonel Forde in writing from Rajahmundry, gives Mr. Andrews a fuller account of the action. [1]

[1] *Public Sundries* (Fort St. George), Vol. xiii. p. 325.

"This moment I received your favor of the 6th and am much obliged to you for the care you have taken in my Affairs, for which I shall always retain a grateful remembrance."

"The Action of the 7th has been attended with as much Success as our most sanguine Friends could have expected; Yesterday at Daybreak, my Seapoys got to the River side, just time enough to seize all the Bullocks, fifteen Europeans and a great Quantity of Publick, as well as Private Stores. A Boat load of Men had put off and our People fired at them for half an Hour and must certainly have killed numbers of them; upon our firing they abandoned four Guns and a 13 inch Mortar, they had got at the other side of the River, so that they have not saved either Gun, Mortar or Ammunition belonging to their whole Army, by all Accounts there have not more than One hundred and fifty French pass'd the River—their Army consisted of Five Hundred Europeans, the Day of the Battle and Five thousand Seapoys with Europe Arms, besides Horse and Country Troops: and ours about Four hundred and thirty Europeans Officers included and eighteen hundred Seapoys besides the Rajah's People. The Rajah himself is the greatest Poltroon I ever saw and the greatest fool also, neither he nor one of his People (except Bristol alone) stood about five minutes after the Cannonading began, they got into a large Tank in our Rear, but when they saw us pursuing the French and that we had beat them away from their Guns, they began to venture out

but all I could say or do not one of their Horse or Foot would pursue the Enemy, one foot faster than we advanced, if they had not been worse than Cooleys we must have taken every man of the French Army. He would not march with us the next day but stai'd to bury his dead, and I have not seen him nor any of his people since; he is near Peddapore and writes me word that he must wait there till Nanader Row comes to pay him homage, otherwise he must fight him."

"If Samson is not yet gone order him away immediately with or without the Sloops and turn Mr. Hilliard out of his Sloop and put in the person you mention in your letter."

On receipt of Forde's letter to Mr. Andrews, written immediately after the action, the Bengal Select Committee agreed (on the 15th January 1759) to "dispatch a sloop to Forde and to return him thanks for his great bravery and conduct in the late action;" that "if he be so fortunate as to take Masulipatam, he destroy it immediately, unless, being on the spot and a much better judge, he thinks it necessary to keep it intire." The Resolution[1] goes on to say that, should Forde be successful in driving the French out of the Deccan, he should proceed with his troops to Madras

[1] *Bengal Committee Consultations*, (India Office), Range A. Vol. ii. p. 1.

should he be needed, at the same time informing Fort St. George that the troops must be sent back should Bengal require them, as they could only with difficulty be spared.

Bombay was also informed of Colonel Forde's victory and recommended to follow the example of Bengal in assisting Madras to drive the French out of India.

CHAPTER VI

OPERATIONS AFTER CONDORE

1759

The commencement of 1759 found Colonel Forde at Peddapore, to which place Mr. Andrews had sent him twenty thousand rupees from Vizagapatam.

On the 3rd January Forde wrote to the Hon'ble George Pigot and to the Council at Fort St. George in the following terms:—[1]

"Gentlemen

Your favour of the 17th ultimo I received this Day and have forwarded a Copy of it by Sea and another by Land to the Committee at Calcutta from which I every Day expect Orders relating to your Representation of the 4th November. I have not heard a word from Bengal since I set out on this Expedition and fear much the Communication by Land is stopp'd by Narrandieu a Rajah near Sittacool, two of your Letters of the 4th November I

[1] *Public Sundries* (Fort St. George), Vol. xiii. pp. 343, 344.

dispatched by Land and one by Sea by Captain Lowes : a few Days ago the accompanying Letter from Colonel Clive to Mr. Pigot was brought me by the Hircarrahs[1] who say they have been four months prisoners with Narrandieu. "

"I most heartily congratulate you on the successful Sally made the 14th which will certainly convince Mr. Lally he is not to expect children's play."

On the 13th Mr. Andrews came to the camp at Peddapore, whence he went into the hills and met the Rajah on the 15th. The Rajah's fears of the Colonel, and aversion to furnish any money, continued as strong as ever, insomuch that he seemed no longer solicitous about the success of the expedition. His conduct was all the more perplexing, because the news that the French were besieging Madras had stopped the English credit in these provinces, which the Rajah's name alone could immediately restore. If his troops were not available, others must be hired, for which no money could be found.

This dilemma induced Mr. Andrews to alter the treaty he had made before, and to agree " that whatsoever sums the Rajah might furnish, should be considered as a loan ; and

[1] *Harkárás.* Messengers, emissaries or spies.

that the revenues of all the countries which might be reduced on the other side of the Godaveri, excepting such as belonged to the French, either by establishment or grant in propriety, should be equally divided between him and the English."

Having made these conditions, Mr. Andrews brought the Rajah back to the camp on the 18th. It was then agreed to march on to Masulipatam, but it took seven days more to effect the necessary business with the Shroffs, (Bankers) resulting in a payment of six thousand rupees in cash and bills at ten days for another sixty thousand.

Forde had every reason to be dissatisfied with the lack of support he was suffering from in the way of money and men (Appendix N), which greatly crippled his power of turning his late victory to greater effect.

On the 25th he wrote to Clive[1] in these words :—

"Your favour of the 24th ultimo by Captain Baker I received and hope you will have it in your power to send me the reinforcements therein mentioned."

"For want of money I have lost a glorious Oppor-

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 179.

tunity of Destroying the French in these Parts, they begin now to recover a little from their Consternation and are venturing out of Masulipatam with a few Men and some Guns to gather in the Rents. The Marquis de Conflans is still continued in the Command but whether he will try the other bout or not, time will shew, he is determined not to be taken Prisoner unless by a Greyhound for he supped at Rajahmundry the night of the engagement which is at least fifty miles from the field of action. I have sent a great parcel of his Letters under cover to Carnac, they will be very pretty reading for him and Mrs. Clive and open a Scene of Politicks to Carnac which perhaps he is at present a stranger to."

"If I had money and arms I could get men (Seapoys) enough, but not so good as my own, but (at least) as good as any in the Country; this Expedition is a child of your own, therefore take care it lacks nothing, which may be necessary for its maintenance and education."

At length the armies marched from Peddapore on the 28th, after fifty days had been wasted. If only the first twenty days after Condore had been usefully employed, the whole purpose of the expedition would have been accomplished. It was now much more difficult to carry out, as the enemy had gained a large amount of time in which to get themselves together. The delay, moreover, was by

no means necessary, for the Rajah might just as easily have done in the first instance what he unwillingly did later on. The expedition had been undertaken, trusting in his promises and the earnestness of his solicitations.

The English army arrived at Ellore on the 6th February, but to prevent another quarrel, Colonel Forde was obliged to let the Rajah march as he wished and he therefore utilised this permission by scattering his troops right and left in order to levy contributions. The Rajah, however, promised to rejoin him soon at Ellore.

Ellore is situated fifty miles south west of Rajahmundry and nearly forty miles north of Masulipatam. It is the capital of a small province, and one of the four obtained from Salábat Jang by Monsieur Bussy. It had been very little known to the English and never frequented by them since they withdrew their factory from Masulipatam in the preceding century. The town is extensive and in the middle of it was a very large fort, in which the French used to keep a garrison mostly of black troops; but the Marquis de Conflans had taken them away with him, as he was passing on to Masulipatam, where he had

determined to make his stand. The long delay of the English troops in following him seemed to have inspired him with a little resolution, for with some of the troops which had joined him after the defeat at Condore and the garrisons of Ellore and Rajahmundry, he formed a body of two hundred Europeans with four field pieces and two thousand Sepoys, which he called his Army of Observation. This force, however, did not venture within less than thirty miles of Ellore, and kept moving to the west of Masulipatam, collecting or extorting tributes.

Colonel Forde, whilst waiting for the Rajah and his troops, detached Captain Knox with the first battalion of Sepoys to reduce the French factory at Narsipur, where, by this time, the garrison, by the arrival of stragglers, was augmented by one hundred Europeans and between three hundred and four hundred Sepoys. Narsipur stands twenty miles to the south east of Ellore.

Letters had been previously sent to the Zemindar [1] of the District, threatening the destruction of his property if he gave the French any assistance, but offering him an

[1] A large landowner.

alliance if he would join the English army with his troops. The Zemindar met Captain Knox on the road and cheerfully accepted the terms. The French troops, having relied on his assistance, marched away as soon as they saw his defection, leaving in the factory some cannon and marine stores and, in the river, several boats and vessels. They, however, sunk what ammunition they could not take away.

The English, leaving a few men under the care of the Zemindar's officers, to take care of these stores, returned to Ellore, at which place, on the 18th, the Rajah arrived with all his troops, as did also the Zemindar, the day after, with fifteen hundred foot. Although so much time had already been lost, the Rajah was not yet ready to proceed, in consequence of which the army was detained at Ellore until the lst March.

The Marquis de Conflans, after his defeat at Condore, had written letters to Salábat Jang earnestly requesting him to march with his army from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, for both forces being united could not fail to bring about the destruction of the English. To this request, Salábat Jang at first demurred, but

most of his officers being in favour of it, advised him to do so. His brother Basálat Jang concurred, and marched with his forces from Adoni whilst Salábat Jang was advancing from Hyderabad.

These combined armies, which numbered fifteen thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, joined near the Kistna. Neither their approach, nor the probability of them assisting the French, debarred Colonel Forde from his purpose of acting against Masulipatam.

It is now easy to see to what danger Colonel Forde was exposed. The garrison of Masulipatam exceeded his force, the Corps of Observation equalled it, and an overwhelming native army was advancing from the interior, while his only support consisted of the undisciplined levies of the reluctant Rajah of Vizianagram, who plundered the surrounding country in spite of all the remonstrances made by Colonel Forde. Ash Wednesday, the 28th February, saw him still at Ellore and on the following day, perhaps with the courage of despair, he set out across the dry bed of the Kolar Lake towards Masulipatam.

This Lake, five miles to the south of Ellore, was in those days forty seven miles in length

from east to west and fourteen miles in breadth from north to south. From the beginning of the rains in July until the end of September the whole is covered with water, with the exception of about sixty or seventy small islets, on which the inhabitants remain, but during the rest of the year, the whole is dry and passable and, in many places, highly cultivated.

The army marched across the lake and on the 3rd March encamped near a small fort called Kankal, in which the French had left a Sergeant with thirteen Europeans and two companies of Sepoys.

Captain Macleane with six companies of Sepoys was sent to attack and, if necessary, escalade the fort. The garrison had the day before received assurances from Monsieur de Rocher, the commander of the Army of Observation, that he would come to their assistance on the 28th, relying on which they manned the walls and prepared to make a resolute defence. The assailants were not provided with any cannon, but twice made a rush to the gate of the fort and tried to break it open with crowbars, and twice were driven back with heavy loss by the musketry fire from the walls. After the second repulse,

Captain Macleane sent back to camp for two guns. These arrived during the evening, when the gate was blown open; whereupon his Sepoys entered and put to death all those Sepoys they met. They, however, did not kill the fourteen Frenchmen, for they prudently hid themselves until order was restored and then surrendered.

A few hours after this, a native brought intelligence that a party of forty Europeans with some Sepoys from the Army of Observation had arrived within a few miles, on hearing which Captain Macleane marched out to attack them, but they, on hearing that the fort was taken, retreated. A small garrison of Sepoys with a few Europeans were left to garrison the fort, and the army marched on towards Masulipatam, in sight of which they arrived on the 6th.

On this day, news was received that the French army under Monsieur Lally had raised the siege of Madras.

CHAPTER VII

MASULIPATAM

1759

The fort of Masulipatam stood a mile and a half from the sea, on the edge of a sound formed partly by an inlet of the sea, partly by drains from the adjacent ground, and still more by a stream which the river Kistna sent off about fifteen miles to the south west and which fell into the upper part of the sound, very near the fort. The sound had sometimes three fathoms and at others only three feet of water. Opposite to the fort it was five hundred yards in breadth.

The south side of the fort extended about six hundred yards along the sound and eight hundred yards thence to the north. Its area, as well as form, would differ very little from a parallelogram of these dimensions, if the eastern

side did not lie in a re-entering angle, which was, however, a very obtuse one.

The ground along the sea shore for two miles to the north and south of the inlet was a collection of sand hills which extended about half a mile inland, when they ceased on the border of a morass which surrounded the fort on every side, and continued to the west and south for several miles. To the north and north west there was no hard ground within a mile of the fort, excepting a few small patches of sand in the morass. To the east, the sand-hills along the sea were within eight hundred yards of the walls. The morass, in all directions, was intersected with creeks and gullies which fell into the sound.

The pettah or town of Masulipatam was situated a mile and a half to the north west of the fort, on a plot of rising ground above the morass, across which communication between the town and the fort was maintained by a straight causeway two thousand yards in length. The town was very extensive and its ground on the farther side to the north west was bounded by another morass which was stopped by the sand hills near the sea shore.

The only access from the fort to the town

was by this causeway, for both morasses were miry even in the dryest season, and were so now, although no rain had fallen for forty days.

The Marquis de Conflans had encamped in the town on account of the absence of fresh water in the fort, except such as was stored in cisterns.

On the approach of the English, he retired along the causeway over the tidal swamp to the fort, making no attempt to block the road by an entrenchment or by other means. His garrison consisted of five hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys, without the Corps of Observation, which he could have recalled easily.

The English force consisted of three hundred and fifteen Europeans and fifteen hundred Sepoys, with which troops Colonel Forde encamped on the sand-hills north east of the fort. The Rajah's levies remained in the town.

The French, since their occupation of this fort in 1751, had modernized the defences. Open on the south side, which lay along an inlet of the sea, on the other sides were eleven strong bastions connected by mud walls faced with brick, and in front of the wall was a

palisaded berm with a wet ditch. The gateway, where the causeway from the town entered the fort, was especially strong. One hundred and twenty yards of the causeway was converted into a *caponière*, which terminated in a strong *ravelin*, the fire from which commanded the whole length of the causeway.

The following were the names of the several bastions, with the guns mounted on each, commencing from the south east corner, thence due north :—

Francois 8 guns ;	*Dutch* 5 guns ;	*St. John's* 18 guns ;
Cameleon 10 guns ;	*Small Gate* 8 guns ;	*Church-yard* 8 guns ;
Great Gate 8 guns ;	*Ravelin* 5 guns ;	*Pettah* 6 guns ;
Engadour 8 guns ;	*Saline* 8 guns ;	*St. Michael* 8 guns ;
Watergate 4 guns ;		

Making a total of one hundred and four guns mounted on the walls. A force ten times as numerous as that at Colonel Forde's disposal would have been insufficient to reduce the place by regular approaches, for, hitherto, black troops however numerous were of no account for making trenches.

Colonel Forde therefore resolved to attack the fort from the sand-hills to the east, and by batteries detached from each other, as little was to be feared from sallies of the besieged.

This work was carried on under a constant fire from the walls.

Three batteries were erected ; one in a fishing village on the edge of the sea water inlet, consisting of two 18 pounders, two 24 pounders and three mortars. Four hundred yards to the north of this battery and nearer to the edge of the same creek was another ; this consisted of two 18 pounders and two 24 pounders ; the third battery of two 12 pounders was equidistant between both of these batteries and one hundred yards in rear.

With these thirteen pieces, Colonel Forde proposed to fire on the four bastions on the eastern face of the fort, which mounted altogether forty one guns. To bring into still stronger relief the disparity between the material at the disposal of the besiegers and the besieged, it must be remembered that the French had other guns in store, mounted ready to replace any that might be disabled, while the English had nothing in reserve, except the 9 pounders on board the *Hardwicke*, which was then lying in the roads ; or the Rajah's guns, which were useless.

As soon as the French had seen the position of the English batteries, they raised a battery

of four guns on the farther shore of the inlet, which took them all in flank; but as this battery was separated from the fort by the whole breadth of the sound and might be attacked in the night by the boats of the ships, the garrison kept a strong guard on it of Europeans besides Sepoys. They also stationed a stronger guard in the *ravelin* on the causeway.

The French looked upon these preparations for a siege of their fort with utter astonishment. The raising of the siege of Fort St. George, three weeks previously, had set free a large number of French troops, and the garrison of Masulipatam had received advices of speedy reinforcements by sea from Pondicherry. The retreat of the English was blocked by the Corps of Observation, and Salábat Jang's army of thirty five thousand men was advancing to crush the English force, which had so rashly courted destruction.

The French Army of Observation, as soon as the English had passed onward from Kankal, crossed to Ellore where there was no garrison to oppose them, thence to Rajahmundry, where the sick of Colonel Forde's army, in all twenty five Europeans and forty Sepoys, had been left under charge of Mr. Bristol,

who a few days before had received a large sum of gold and silver, which had been sent from Calcutta via Vizagapatam.

On the approach of the enemy, Bristol sent away the treasure to Cocanada, a Dutch settlement on the coast; he ordered all those under him, who were able to undergo the fatigue, to proceed to Vizagapatam.

When the enemy had marched two days from Rajahmundry, they gave out that their intention was to take Vizianagram, the capital of Ananda Ráz, as well as the English fort of Vizagapatam. Their main idea, however, was to extort money from the natives of those parts. Finding they could not collect as much as they spent, they returned to join the army under Salábat Jang. The daily news of their movements terrified the Rajah, and no persuasion could induce him to advance any money. None remained in the military chest; Colonel Forde had borrowed all that the officers had realised from the spoils of the campaign and had even used the prize money of the troops. The inter-position of the French Army of Observation precluded any hopes of receiving what had been sent to Mr. Bristol.

By this time, every soldier in the army had

perceived the obstacles which must be surmounted to reduce the fort, and this last grievance proved too much for them. The whole line of Europeans turned out on the 19th March with their arms, and threatened to march away. Colonel Forde with much difficulty prevailed on them to return to their tents and to depute one or two to explain their complaints. The deputies declared that all were resolved not to do any duty, unless they were immediately paid the amount of the prize money already due to them, and were assured of the whole booty in case Masulipatam should be taken.

According to the Company's regulations, authorized by the Crown, the troops in India were only entitled to one half of what was taken in the forts they reduced, the other half was kept for the Company. Colonel Forde promised to pay them the prize money out of the very first he should receive and, as he could not break through the regulations, assured them he would solicit the Company, by representing their hardships and services, to give up their share of what might be taken in Masulipatam.

These promises appeased them and they

returned to their duty with their usual ardour.

Nevertheless the batteries were not completed until the 25th, eighteen days after the arrival of the army, during which the fort had kept up a constant fire, which had, however, only killed five men.

Salábat Jang, as he approached, sent forward letters and messengers commanding Ananda Ráz and the Zemindars, who had joined the English, to leave them and repair immediately as vassals to his standard. On the 27th advices were received in the camp that his army had arrived on the Kistna, forty miles from Masulipatam; and on the same day came reports that the French Army of Observation had retaken Rajahmundry.

The Rajah, who for some days had been faltering, was now so terrified, that he marched away with all his forces the same night, without giving warning, intending to regain his own country on the other side of the Godaveri. Notwithstanding the dilatoriness of his former movements he, on this occasion, covered sixteen miles before daybreak. Colonel Forde sent messengers after him, representing the absurdity of his conduct in thinking he could escape from the numerous cavalry of Salábat

Jang on the one hand and the French Army of Observation on the other ; whereas by remaining with the English troops, his retreat would be assured and the reduction of Masulipatam even now not impracticable. The plain good sense of this advice brought him back with his army.

To leave no chance untried, Colonel Forde wrote to Salábat Jang assuring him that the English were warring only against the French factories on the Coast, and had no design on the Subahdar's territories. To support these overtures, Mr. Johnstone, a Bengal civilian, was sent to Salábat Jang's camp on the 1st April.

CHAPTER VIII

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF MASULIPATAM[1]

1759

The three English batteries opened a hot fire on the 25th March which continued until the 4th April. On the 5th, the weather, which had hitherto been fine, changed to a gale of wind, with thunder, lightning and an immense quantity of rain, which flooded the swamps and made the camp still more wretched. The rain ceased the next day, but news came that Salábat Jang was advancing from Bezwada and that the French Corps of Observation was about to join him.

It was no longer possible for the English army to retreat by the road they had come, as the whole garrison of Masulipatam, with the Army of Observation, would join that of Salábat Jang in pursuit. However, the English might embark, for there was no surf at Masulipatam,

[1] Taken from *Orme*.

but Colonel Forde regarded this mode of retreat as an intolerable disgrace, and resolved to storm the fort.

In coming to this resolution, he judged that the garrison would not suspect the attempt at the very time when the excess of rain had rendered the approach over the morass less practicable than before. He accordingly ordered the fire of the batteries to be kept up with double energy through the 7th, and all the troops to be under arms at 10 o'clock that night. This decision had also been taken owing to a report having come in from the artillery, on the evening of the 6th, stating there was only two days' ammunition left in the batteries.

"The issue had now greatly narrowed itself.[1] It had become a battle to the death between two men, Forde and Conflans, with every advantage on the side of the latter. However greatly Forde might dare, Conflans had only to remain firm to baffle him. Let him but display ordinary intelligence, ordinary courage, ordinary forethought, and he had him safe and secure in the hollow of his hand. According to every rule of war Forde, in fact, was lost. He had before him a fortress which defied him, behind him an army which he could not beat, his ammunition,

[1] Malleson's *Decisive Battles of India.*

his supplies, his funds were alike exhausted. Never was a commander, not even Wellington before Talavera, in a position so radically false. He was in a trap, apparently lost."

"If Forde had been Conflans, he had been lost indeed without redemption. It is too much to say, looking at the record of the men who were his contemporaries, of men such as Clive, as Eyre Coote, as Caillaud, as Munro, and as Adams, that if he had not been Forde, he had been lost, but this at least may be asserted, that if he had not held a double first class degree in the university of Nature, if he had not possessed, to a supreme extent, the qualities which mark men amongst their fellows and if, it must in fairness be added, he had not been opposed to a leader who in all qualities, soldierly or other, ranked as much below the ordinary humanity of the age as Forde ranked above it, he could not have emerged from this crisis, in which he found himself, with success or even with credit. As it was, his conduct stands out a brilliant example to all men beset by difficulties. He faced them with coolness, he met them with a calm determination to conquer them."

Thirty men were landed from the *Hardwicke* and this made up the number of Europeans to three hundred and forty five, including the artillerymen.

The fire of the three batteries had been

directed against the four bastions on the east face of the fort, and had ruined them all sufficiently to enable a storming party to mount, but as all four bastions had been breached, the garrison do not seem to have expected an attack on any one breach, and apparently made no attempt to counterwork them or to make any new defences. The heavy rain that had fallen two days previously had made the mud more impassable then before and made any advance of the besiegers still more improbable.

The attack was to be directed against the *Cameleon* or fourth bastion, as opposite to it the sand was firmer for the march of the storming party. This was to consist of two divisions of one hundred and seventy Europeans each and a reserve of seven hundred Sepoys. Every man was to take part in the assault, and the camp was to be guarded by some of the Rajah's troops. The command of the first division leading the attack was given to Captain . . . . . To distract the attention of the garrison and prevent any undue reinforcement of the guard at the *Cameleon* bastion, Colonel Forde arranged for two simultaneous false attacks. The Rajah's troops were to advance along the causeway,

and on each side of it, to attack the *ravelin* in front of the Great Gateway. The other false attack was to be made by Captain Ranfurly Knox with seven hundred Sepoys, near the *St. Michael's* bastion.

The English officers, from their camp, had seen that the two bastions on the inlet, the *Francois* and *St. Michael's*, were *en barbette*, that is to say there were no embrasures, and the walls were low enough for cannon to fire over. Between the *St. Michael's* and the *Saline* bastions, the wet ditch was not continued, because at that point there was a muddy quagmire which was considered to be a greater obstacle than water. A few days before this, Captain Martin Yorke had been told by his native servant, who knew Masulipatam, that coolies employed in the fort had sometimes waded across this muddy swamp. Captain Yorke had mentioned this to Colonel Forde, who allowed him to go with Captain Knox at night to examine this approach. They put on dark clothes and taking with them one hundred Sepoys, who were stationed in small parties behind them to cover their retreat, they managed to go as far as this quagmire without being noticed by the garri-

son, and found that the mud, though very tenacious, was not more than knee deep. At this point therefore, on the south west corner of the fort, Captain Knox was to make a false attack with seven hundred Sepoys.

All day long and after daylight failed, the batteries kept up a brisk fire with the last remnants of their ammunition. The troops were under arms at ten o'clock, for the attack was to be delivered at about midnight, because it was then ebb tide and there would be only three feet of water in the ditch, and also because the moon would set at that hour, being now seven days old.

Captain Knox moved out of camp first, for his Sepoys had to cross the inlet and pass round to the south west corner of the fort, and as this might occupy some time, it was arranged that the Rajah's troops and Captain . . . . . 's division were to await the sound of Captain Knox's false attack as the signal to advance. The gunners continued to fire from the batteries until the last moment, when they quitted their guns and joined the storming party.

When the Europeans were ready to move, Captain . . . . . was nowhere to be found.

Much valuable time was lost in searching for and making enquiries about the missing officer, but at length Captain Fischer took command and the party marched without him. They advanced north for some little distance along the creek, crossed the swamp immediately in front of the *Cameleon* bastion, which they were to storm. Before they came to the ditch, they heard the firing of Captain Knox's false attack and so made what haste they could, though, in the swamp, they were up to their knees in mud and, in the ditch, up to their waists in mud and water. They were discovered just before they reached the palisade on the berm, and while the first division was occupied in tearing it up, which took a few minutes, the French collected on the breach and poured in a heavy fire from the bastion on either side. The second division of Europeans under Captain Yorke thereupon wheeled to the left and fired against *St. John's* bastion, while the Sepoys under Captain Macleane were led to the right and fired against the Small Gate. This diverted some of the defenders' fire from Captain Fischer, but several men fell before his division got across the palisade and up the breach into the *Cameleon* bastion. Captain

Yorke's division followed and Captain Fischer then moved along the rampart to his right to obtain possession of the *Small Gate* bastion. An officer named Moran [1] discovered in the *Cameleon* bastion a small gun with its ammunition and Captain Yorke ordered the gunners to load and fire it along the rampart towards the *St. John's* bastion, while he formed up his division to proceed in that direction, as soon as sufficient Sepoys had climbed up the breach to hold the *Cameleon*.

In the meantime, the Rajah's troops were making their attack on the *Ravelin* with a terrific din and clamour, which effectually served its purpose of diverting the attention of the garrison.

The Marquis de Conflans had remained at his house in the south of the fort, near the inlet. The arsenal was there, and it was there that messengers knew where to find him, so there he remained with the grenadier company and other troops, receiving reports and issuing orders.

When the sound of firing at the *Cameleon* bastion announced a third attack, the Marquis de Conflans sent off a reinforcement of Sepoys

[1] One of the survivors of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

to that point. These appeared marching up in the space between the rampart and the buildings within the fort, at the moment when Captain Yorke's division was facing south, ready to move on the *St. John's* bastion, and the little gun, which the artillerymen had turned, commanded them.

Captain Yorke immediately called on the French officer, at the head of the Sepoys, to surrender, and these Sepoys laying down their arms were taken into the *Cameleon* bastion as prisoners. This route below and within the ramparts seemed to Captain Yorke to be preferable to the narrow rampart, and so his division came down from the *Cameleon* and advanced by this way, leaving only a few guards over the prisoners and some gunners to work the gun.

In the *St. John's* bastion were some twenty Frenchmen and more Sepoys who were sheltering in the angles from the enfilade fire of the small gun, and as soon as Captain Yorke's division appeared under their bastion, they fired down upon them, killing several and wounding more, but immediately surrendered and, giving up their arms, were marched to the *Cameleon* bastion where, by this time, were

Sepoys enough to hold the *Cameleon* and *St. John's* bastions. Captain Yorke's division then marched on towards the *Dutch* bastion, and here again the guard fired down upon them and then surrendered.

The three bastions, the *Cameleon*, *St. John's* and the *Dutch*, were now held by the reserve Sepoys and by some men of Captain Yorke's division; the remaining men of the division were again formed up to move southward upon the *Francois* bastion, which appeared about two hundred yards in front of them, dark with an ominous silence.

The men who had, with success so unexpected, obtained possession of *St. John's* bastion and also the *Dutch*, shrank back from proceeding any further, for not only was the *Francois* bastion before them, but the street by which they had advanced now widened out into the open ground near the arsenal and the Marquis de Conflans' headquarters, where they might expect to meet opposition in force. With threats and exhortations, Captain Yorke persuaded them to advance a few paces beyond the *Dutch* bastion. There was a small brick building close to the rampart which was used by the garrison as a magazine. Someone

noticed this and cried out "A mine!" when suddenly the whole division turned and ran back the whole way to the *Cameleon*, their officers following calling on them to stand; Captain Yorke found himself standing alone with only two native drummer boys, who kept on beating the Grenadiers' march. For some time he stood there, but the drums recalled no one out of the darkness to his side, so he went back to the *Cameleon* and found his men there a disorderly mob, some even proposing to go down the breach and out of the fort. The moment was passed for expostulation. Captain Yorke sprang up on the breach and said that he would kill the first man who came near. This gave the soldiers time to recover from their panic. Among them were some veterans who had served under Yorke in Adlercron's regiment, and these cried "Shame!" and volunteered to follow him again. They stepped forward to the number of thirty six and with them he marched off, leaving the rest to follow as soon as their officers could induce them to come on.

Past the *St. John's* and *Dutch* bastions he marched and on to within a few yards of the *Francois*, when the silence that had before so

awed his men was suddenly explained. The officer commanding that bastion had loaded a gun with grape shot and pointed it up the way the English were advancing. When they were within a few yards, the gun was fired with terrible effect. The two drummer boys were killed, Captain Yorke had a ball through each thigh and sixteen of his men were wounded. Strange to say, the very troops, that had a few minutes before fled in panic, were now steady and cool. The guards posted in the *Dutch* and *St. John's* bastions stood their ground, and the survivors of Captain Yorke's party took him up and carried him back to the *Cameleon* bastion. Colonel Forde had come up with the reserve and had taken command in person of the *Cameleon* and *St. John's* bastions, so Captain Yorke's disablement did not cause any fresh disorder.

While these events were taking place on the eastern face of the fort, the first division under Captain Fischer had proceeded to their right along the rampart to the *Small Gate* bastion. This was not in good repair and the Sepoys under Macleane were attempting to climb up into it from the ditch. The approach therefore of Captain Fischer along the rampart

disheartened the French guard, who retreated to the next, or *Churchyard* bastion where, after a desultory fire, they surrendered.

By this time the firing of Captain Knox's Sepoys was diminishing as their ammunition began to fail, and as the attack at the *Great Gate* by the Rajah's troops continued with as much noise as ever, many of the French troops had collected on the main parade, which was below the *Great Gate* bastion, and now strengthened the guard of that bastion, which now amounted to about one hundred men. The fire which they delivered on Captain Fischer's division on the *Churchyard* bastion showed their numbers, but the attacking party, nothing daunted, rushed on and cleared the bastion; then Captain Fischer, with admirable presence of mind, immediately sent down and closed the Great Gate, so that all the defenders, who had assembled in the *ravelin* on the causeway to repel the Rajah's attack, were thus caught in a trap.

The division was again formed up to move against the next bastion, known as the *Pettah*, when, at this moment, suddenly appeared the missing Captain . . . . . , who placed himself at their head as they marched off. No one

knew whence he came and no one ever found out, for from the *Pettah* bastion were fired a few scattered shots, and by the last that was fired, Captain . . . . . fell dead.

It was now one o'clock. The English held seven bastions and an eighth bastion, the *Pettah*, was making no further defence.

The Marquis de Conflans sent an officer to Colonel Forde to ask for terms, to which Forde answered that he would give none, but at discretion, nor even this, but would put every man to the sword if all did not instantly surrender.

On the return of the officer, the Marquis de Conflans sent round orders for the troops to lay down their arms and to repair to his quarters at the arsenal. Colonel Forde then sent word to Captain Fischer to cease firing, as the Marquis de Conflans had surrendered.

On the parade under the *Great Gate* bastion, one hundred Europeans with two guns and two companies of Sepoys remained watching the French in the *ravelin* until morning broke, the morning of Palm Sunday, April 8th. The gate was then opened and the French troops passed into the fort and became prisoners, the guard at the battery on the other side of the inlet also surrendering.

The total number of prisoners was five hundred French and two thousand five hundred and thirty seven Sepoys.

The stores in the fort included one hundred and twenty guns with ample ammunition. The English loss is set forth in Colonel Forde's reports [1] as under :—

Europeans. Twenty one killed and sixty wounded.

Seamen. One killed and six wounded.

Sepoys. One hundred and thirty killed and wounded.

[1] See Appendix O.

CHAPTER IX

EVENTS AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MASULIPATAM

1759

Malcolm, in his *Memoirs of Robert, Lord Clive*, remarks on the Fall of Masulipatam as follows :—

"The French Commander and his garrison had, from the first, treated too slightingly the efforts of their besiegers. Their confidence, which was increased by an expected reinforcement from Pondicherry, was one of the chief causes of the loss of the place. Few precautionary measures appear to have been taken to give combination to the points of defence, and the attack, being made at night, and on so many quarters, distracted those in the different works, whose contradictory and exaggerated reports so embarrassed the Marquis de Conflans that he remained in the centre of the fort with his most select men, undecided where to direct relief, till he was so surrounded as to be obliged to surrender at discretion."

"Though these circumstances promoted the success of the English, they only reflected higher honour upon the British Commander and his gallant soldiers. The irregularity and the extent of the fortifications made Colonel Forde foresee the confusion that must result from dividing his troops before and after they entered the place. He also calculated upon the confidence with which the enemy's superior numbers were likely to inspire their Commander, and he anticipated the success which so frequently crowns those daring attempts which are made in contempt of all the ordinary maxims of war."

"The able and bold plans of their Commander were admirably carried into execution by his brave troops. The English soldiers by their conduct well redeemed the crime of their recent mutiny."

Monsieur Moracin, with a reinforcement of five hundred men from Pondicherry, arrived a few days after the place was taken. On his discovering what had occurred, he sailed to the northwards, where the attempt he made to injure the English interests in the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts altogether failed, though he continued for some period to excite considerable alarm.

Salábat Jang was encamped within fifteen miles of Masulipatam when the fort was taken. He and his ministers were alike astonished at

the unexpected result of the siege, and reproaching themselves as in part the cause of the misfortune of their ally, they refused to negociate with Colonel Forde while there appeared a hope of their being joined by the troops under Moracin; finding, however, that he had proceeded north, the Subahdar evinced a wish to contract an alliance with the English. To this he was induced by another and more powerful motive.

Nizam Ali Khan had, on the receipt of letters from Clive regarding Colonel Forde's expedition, not only written to Clive expressing his desire to co-operate against the French and his wish that Colonel Forde's force should join him, but had also addressed Colonel Forde to the same purport, in answer to a letter received from that officer.

This correspondence with a brother, whom he had just cause to dread, combined with the movement of Nizam Ali in the direction of Hyderabad, turned the scale of the Subahdar's Court in favour of the English, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the leader of the French Corps of Observation, Salábat Jang concluded a treaty with Colonel Forde, by which he ceded Masulipatam and eight

Districts in its vicinity (Appendix P). This treaty was signed on 14th May 1759.[1]

The consequences of this expedition were very important, as tending to distract the enemy when besieging Madras. Including prisoners and the corps under Moracin, at least one thousand Europeans and nearly three thousand native troops were subtracted from Lally's force by the effects of Colonel Forde's success.

By this expedition also Lally's strength was materially weakened for subsequent operations, and, perhaps most important of all, it destroyed the French connection with Salábat Jang and raised the military reputation of the English in the Deccan above that of their European rivals. Besides all these advantages the occupation of the fort and dependent districts of Masulipatam was of itself a valuable object. This possession was annexed to the Presidency of Fort St. George.

As soon as the afore-mentioned treaty was signed, Colonel Forde paid a visit to Salábat Jang in his camp, the results of which can best be told in his own words, when writing a letter to Clive and the Select Committee of Bengal on 14th June, 1759.

[1] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 292, p. 203. (India Office).

"I went to pay him a visit at his Camp and was received with great state, and a fine title was given me and proclaimed in full Durbar, with a Munzub [1] to command six thousand Horse and the country of Devarcotah to maintain me in my Honor and Dignities; after this Ceremony was ended we retired to the inner Tent, he there asked me to march with him against his brother Nizam Ali, who was marching towards Hyderabad. I excused myself from complying with this request by telling him there was no such article in the Treaty and besides that, I could not fight against a man who had always been an enemy to the French. We had many Arguments on this subject, which at last finding I was determined not to assist him against Nizam Ali, he very genteely revoked the Title, Munzub and Jageer [2] which he had before given me and refused to return my visit according to agreement. He has marched towards Hyderabad in order to meet his brother, but probably they will compound the matter rather than run the risque of a battle."

The Presidency of Madras appointed Mr. Andrews with a Council to administer the revenues and trade of the district lately ceded, and Colonel Forde remained at Masulipatam with the troops, expecting further orders from Bengal.

[1] Commission.

[2] Hereditary grant of lands.

The Government of Madras, anxious to add to the army in the field, desired that Colonel Forde should leave Masulipatam with a garrison of five hundred Sepoys and send his remaining Europeans, about two hundred, to Madras. This he refused to do; stating in a letter[1] addressed to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George that, according to orders received from Bengal, he was to go to Madras as soon as the country was settled and that it was far from being so, as long as Monsieur Moracin with five hundred Europeans was in the neighbourhood. Another reason he urged was the usual one, lack of funds. He was already in debt to the amount of one lakh of rupees (Rs. 100,000) and also owed the Sepoys their pay for the month of June. He therefore could not start unless he was provided with two lakhs of rupees.

This want of money caused a mutiny amongst the Sepoys and is related by Forde in the above mentioned letter as follows :—

"Yesterday morning (2nd July) the Seapoys who were to mount guard (to the number of seven hundred) mutinied and grounded their arms, saying they would do no duty until they were paid their Pay and

[1] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 292, p. 227. (India Office).

Prize Money that was due to them, as soon as I had notice of this, I went directly to the Parade, seized two of the Ringleaders and had them blown from a gun; this is the second Mutiny I have quelled, occasioned by the want of money. I can do no more than represent these things to you and if you do not think proper to relieve my Necessities let the Consequences lie at your Door."

Clive approved of this, as indeed of every part of Forde's conduct. Besides those public thanks which, as head of the Government, he gave to this able officer and his gallant troops, we meet in Clive's private letters with frequent and strong expressions of his sense of the importance of the defeat of Conflans near Rajahmundry and the capture of Masulipatam. He justly concluded that these achievements, independent of their immediate consequences, were calculated to promote our permanent interests in the Deccan; a point to which he always gave great importance, and to which he upbraided his friends in the Government of Madras for being too inattentive.

In a private letter[1] to Mr. Pigot, Governor of Fort St. George, dated 21st August, 1759, in which he congratulates him on the raising of the siege of Fort St. George, he observes,

[1] Malcolm's *Memoirs of Robert, Lord Clive.*

"I know there are many in England, especially the envious, who have endeavoured to persuade others as well as ourselves, that our wars in India are trifling and insignificant, but our late exploits will, I believe, induce another way of thinking and add lustre to our quondam victories."

"Colonel Forde may, I think, step forth and very justly claim his share of the laurels gained. His defeat of Conflans, with a great inferiority of numbers, was an important stroke, but his taking by storm such a place as Masulipatam, with a garrison within superior to the force which attacked it, is what we seldom hear of in these our modern times."

"I cannot add much to what has been represented to you in our general letter, only let me beg of you not to neglect the affairs of the Deccan, they are of great importance, and I know the gentlemen at home think them so."

"Besides we could never be safe in Bengal, while the enemy is so near at hand, and a strong squadron which may give ours the slip, co-operate with them. If Colonel Forde had left Masulipatam with only a garrison of five hundred Sepoys and it had been afterwards lost, (which I really believe would have been the case,) what a load of disgrace would have fallen upon us, for putting the Company to so great an expense and for losing all the fruits of our eminent successes in these parts."

In another letter dated 26th August, 1759,[1]

[1] Malcolm's *Memoirs of Robert, Lord Clive.*

upon the same subject, to his friend Mr. Vansittart, who was a Member of Council at Fort St. George, Clive expresses similar sentiments; he observes:

"The news from the Coast this year has been very important and interesting. The defence of Madras will do much honour to our arms in India and greatly heighten our reputation as soldiers in these parts. I would gladly have given some of my riches to share some of your reputation. I know it has been a conceived opinion among the old soldiers in England, that our exploits in India have been much of the same nature as those of Fernandez Cortez; but your foiling such a man as Monsieur Lally and two of the oldest regiments of France, will induce another way of thinking and add a fresh lustre to all our former victories."

"Neither do I think Colonel Forde's successes fall short of those of Madras. His victory over the Marquis de Conflans was but one of the many we have gained over our enemies in the like circumstances, but his taking such a place as Masulipatam, with a garrison within superior to the force which attacked it is, I think, one of those extraordinary actions which we seldom hear of in these modern times, and must give him great honour when it comes to be known at home.[1] And now I have said this much, I can not help thinking there has not been quite that attention bestowed on the affairs of

[1] See Appendix Q.

the Deccan their importance deserves. Much has been risked in not sending Colonel Forde even a small assistance of money, which I think might have been done without greatly distressing yourselves, and still much more in not providing sea conveyances or timely and sufficient land escorts for the French prisoners."

"This expedition was undertaken more with a view to benefit the Coast [1] than Bengal, and most of the Deccan forces would certainly have been at the siege of Madras, if not prevented by the diversion given from hence. Much, I fear, all our successes in the Deccan would have come to nothing, if Colonel Forde had complied with the late order sent him, of leaving only five hundred Sepoys in Masulipatam, and coming with the rest of the forces to Madras. Excuse me in thinking the gentlemen in council have had too much at heart the securing to themselves Colonel Forde's detachment, without sufficiently considering the consequences; for I can never be persuaded that the addition of two hundred infantry would either have lost or gained us a battle over Monsieur Lally; but the withdrawing them from Masulipatam would certainly have rendered fruitless all that had been done. You will be surprised at hearing the French have landed upwards of five hundred Europeans at Ganjam with Monsieur Moracin, but it is really matter of fact and has been confirmed to us by no less than forty seven deserters

[1] The Madras Presidency was usually called the Coast.

from thence, most of them English taken at St. David's and forced into the service. By the latest advices they were reduced by death and desertions to four hundred. I need say no more on this subject, as the Board will write very fully on this and other matters of importance."

Almost immediately after the capture of Masulipatam, news arrived that the Court of Directors at home had refused to confirm Clive's nomination of Forde to the command in Bengal, and that he was to be superseded by Lieutenant Colonel Eyre Coote, who had just then arrived at Madras in command of the 84th Regiment.

It appears, however, that Forde remained in command of the troops at Masulipatam until the 15th October, when he left that place by sea for Calcutta on board the *Hardwicke*,[1] after ascertaining that Moracin had been obliged, for want of supplies and on account of other hardships, to leave Ganjam.

The garrison of Masulipatam, consisting of three hundred of the European Regiment and eight hundred Sepoys, was placed under the command of Captain Fischer.

[1] *Bengal Select Committee Consultations*, (India Office), Range A, Vol. ii.

The result of this expedition under Colonel Forde was the acquisition for England of those districts on the east coast, which had formerly constituted the most valuable possessions of France in Hindustan, and laid the foundation of that predominance at the court of the Nizam, which placed, some forty years later, on a definite basis by the Marquis Wellesley, exists at the present day. It is not too much to say that the taking of Masulipatam and the expulsion of the French from the Northern Circars, the source whence Monsieur Bussy had drawn the sinews of war, was the blow from which the French never recovered.

"We[1] may therefore look upon that singularly uninteresting spot, the old fort at Masulipatam, as classic ground and, rising superior to the depressing influences of the dismal swamp and muddy sea surrounding it, may remember that had the issue of that midnight struggle been otherwise, the tricolour and not the Union Jack might now wave over India."

[1] *Manual of the Kistna District.*

CHAPTER X

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH & DUTCH [1]

1759

When Clive was exulting at the advantages gained over the French in the Deccan and at Madras, and congratulating himself on the success which had attended his personal efforts in Bengal, a new and alarming danger arose from a quarter altogether unexpected.

Accounts had been received that the Dutch were preparing a strong armament in Batavia, and it was further added that its destination was Bengal. To this report, Clive at first refused his belief. Mr. Warren Hastings had written to him, on the 29th July, 1759, that the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, was led from several reasons to suspect that the Dutch were in league with the sovereign of Oudh, and that the armament at Batavia was meant to strengthen their factory at Chinsura, but Clive

[1] Malcolm's *Memoirs of Robert Lord Clive.*

in his answer to this letter did not give credit to the surmise. "Although it will be necessary," he stated on the 3rd August, 1759, "to be upon our guard against the Dutch, yet I have reason to think that the armament fitted out at Batavia is only intended to garrison their settlements in Ceylon. Some intelligence lately received confirms me in this opinion."

It was not easy for Clive, or for any person, to foresee such a course of measures as the Dutch government in India adopted at this period of profound peace between the two nations in Europe. It will be therefore well, before narrating what occurred, to take a short review of the conduct of those in charge of the Dutch factory at Chinsura, from the capture of Calcutta until the period about which we are now writing.

The Dutch at Chinsura had, like others, suffered from Suráj-ud-Daulá, who had compelled them to pay a fine of five hundred thousand rupees. This and other oppressive acts made them rejoice at his downfall,[1] and they addressed to Clive a letter of congratulation on his success in dethroning that Prince; nevertheless they did not recognise Mir Jaffar

[1] He was dethroned after Plassey and was succeeded by Mir Jaffar.

as Subahdar of Bengal; the consequence was so hostile a feeling in the mind of that Prince that it required the continual good offices of Clive to preserve terms between them. This was not easy, for their not recognising him was a cause of just and frequent irritation to Mir Jaffar. Clive notices the subject in a letter[1] to the Dutch Governor, Mr. Bisdom, written in answer to one full of complaints :—

"I am well acquainted, with your attachment to the English and the service you have at all times been ready to show them, but give me leave to observe, Sir, that good offices have always been reciprocal between the two nations; and indeed this is no more than we mutually owe each other, considering the close alliance and union of interests that have so long subsisted between us. It gives me therefore much concern that you should do me the injustice to reproach me with being in any shape accessory to the obstruction which the Subahdar had thought proper to lay upon your trade. I have indeed heard him make frequent complaints of the ill behaviour of your Government towards him, and was really amazed at his patience, in putting up so long with indignities, which you would not have ventured to offer to Mohabit Jung or Surá-ud-Daulá. I shall not pretend to enquire into your reasons for not acknowledging Meer Jaffier in the same manner

[1] 2nd October, 1758.

as the preceding Subahdars have always been, more especially as you can not be ignorant that he has received his sunnud [1] from the Mogul ; [2] but for my own part I can not conceive how you and your Council will be able to exculpate yourselves to your superiors for the present stoppage of their trade, since it appears evident to me that you have brought it upon yourselves by your disrespect to a person of his high station."

The act which gave rise to stopping the trade was one of public disrespect to the Nawáb, to whom the Dutch factory did not even pay the compliment of a salute when he passed Chinsura on his way to Calcutta. The mode in which he resented this insult had its full effect. The Governor and Council of Chinsura made a very humble apology, which was accepted, and the prohibition on their commerce removed.

The chief complaints of the Dutch against the English were the latter having the monopoly of saltpetre at Patna and their insisting that Dutch vessels coming up the river should take English pilots. To the first it was answered that saltpetre had always been a monopoly and that, since the English obtained

[1] Commission.

[2] Emperor of Delhi.

it, the Dutch had always bought the article cheaper than they had ever done before. With regard to the insisting upon no pilots being employed on the river but English, it was stated to be a measure forced on the Committee of Calcutta by considerations of safety, and that, until the danger was over, they could not allow those of any other nation to be employed. These facts should have satisfied the Dutch could the superior Government at Batavia have been contented to abandon to another European Power, without a struggle, the political pre-eminence in India.

Calculating, however, upon the encouragement given at the Court of Murshedabad, previous to the expedition to Patna, they determined to make a bold effort to establish such a force at Chinsura as might enable them to balance the predominating power of the English in Bengal. In a paper entitled *Memorial of facts relating to the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal* [1] which was sent to England by the *Royal George* and received by the Court of Directors on the 10th July, 1760, the progress of this serious difference between the two nations, from its commencement to its conclu-

[1] *East Indies Home Series Miscellaneous*, (India Office), Vol. 95.

sion, is exhibited in a very clear manner and, for that reason, is inserted at length.

"About the month of November, 1758, a prevailing party at the Nabob[1] Jaffier Aly Khan's Durbar,[2] headed by Meeran his son, had prejudiced him to look with an evil and jealous eye on the power and influence of the English in the provinces, and taught him to think and look upon himself as a cipher bearing the name of Subah only. From subsequent concurrent circumstances it must have been at that period, and from this cause, that we imagine a private negociation was set on foot between the Nabob and the Dutch, that the latter should bring a military force into the provinces to join the former and balance our power and sway. The Dutch, stimulated by envy at our very advantageous situation, and a sense of their own very small importance, readily embraced the overture and hoped another Plassey affair for themselves."

"Actuated by these golden dreams and encouraged by the absence of our troops on the Golconda expedition, the Director and his Council at Chinsura forwarded remonstrances to Batavia for this purpose where, by the event, it appears they had the intended effect."

"Subsequent to this private negociation was the advance of the Shah Zada[3] and Governor Clive's

[1] Same as Nawab.

[2] Court or executive Government of a native state.

[3] Known afterwards as the Emperor Shah Alam.

march to Patna in support of the Nabob and his Government, which perfectly convinced him and his son of our faithfulness, affection and attachment, and struck an iniquitous party at the Durbar dumb, who were ever insinuating to them that the English were aiming to be Subahs of the country in breach of their treaty."

"Early in August we received advice that a powerful armament was fitting out and embarking at Batavia, its destination not perfectly known but rumoured to be for Bengal. The Governor, Clive, sent early notice of this to Meer Jaffier, who immediately sent a purwannah[1] to the Dutch Governor, a copy of which he forwarded to Governor Clive, demanding withal, by virtue of the treaty subsisting with the English, that he should join his forces to oppose and prevent any foreign troops being brought into his country."

"About this time a Dutch ship arrived in the river with European troops and Buggoses,[2] of which the Governor advised the Nabob, who was much embarrassed at the news. He, however, despatched a second purwannah to the Dutch and ordered Omar Beg Khan, Fouzdaar[3] of Hooghley, immediately to join the Governor, with a body of troops, and repeated his demand of our assistance, to prevent the Dutch troops or ships advancing up the river."

"To the Nabob's first purwannah the Dutch sent

[1] A letter of authority from an official to a subordinate.

[2] Mercenary soldiers from the Malay Peninsula.

[3] Military Governor of a district.

a reply and solemn promise of obedience to his orders; to the second, they as solemnly assured him the ship which was arrived came in by accident for water and provisions; that she was drove from her destined port of Nagapatam by stress of weather, and that she and her troops should leave the river as soon as they were supplied."

"Notwithstanding these solemn assurances from the Dutch, it was judged expedient to send a detachment of troops, joined with one of the Subah's under the command of the Fouzdaar's officer, to take possession of Tanna Fort and Charnoc's battery opposite to it, with orders to stop and search all boats and vessels that passed, without giving them further molestation. Parties were likewise sent out on each side of the river to prevent any foreign troops advancing by land."

"In consequence of these orders every Dutch boat and budgerow [1] was brought to and those that had no troops suffered to pass; amongst others Mynheer Suydland, the Dutch Master-attendant, not only refused for some time being either brought to or searched, but struck the commanding officer at Charnoc's battery. Himself and another Dutch gentleman with him were made prisoners for a few hours, until an order from the Governor went down for releasing them, and the budgerow, on board of which were found concealed eighteen Buggoses, who were conducted down by land under a guard until within sight of their ship at Fulta, was released."

[1] A large house boat used for travelling.

"On these transactions, we received very long remonstrances from the gentlemen at Chinsura, to which we replied that as principals we had, by the custom of laws and nations, a right to search all vessels whatever advancing up this river, not knowing but they might introduce French troops into the country and that, as auxiliaries to the Mogul, we were under a necessity by solemn treaty, to join his Viceroy in opposing the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatever into Bengal; and that we should absolutely and religiously do our duty to the utmost of our strength and power in both capacities."

"Early in October Jaffier Aly Khan arrived here on a visit to the Governor. During his stay with us, advice came from below of the arrival of six or seven more Dutch capital ships, crammed with soldiers and buggoses. Now the Dutch mask fell off, and the Nabod (conscious of having given his assent to their coming and at the same time of our attachment and his own unfaithful dealings with us) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however, seemed to make light of it; told the Governor he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghley, where he would chastise the insolence and disobedience of the Dutch and drive them soon out of the river again."

"On the 19th October he left Calcutta and in place of his going to his fort at Hooghley he took up his residence at Cajah Wazeed's [1] garden, about half

[1] Styled Fakker-u-Toojar (signifying "Glory of Merchants") in the correspondence, but commonly known as Cajar Wazeed.

way between that and Chinsura ; a plain indication that he had no apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies, than as enemies to him and his country."

"In three or four days after his departure from Calcutta, the Governor received a letter from him wherein he informed him of 'some indulgence he had granted the Dutch in their trade and that they had engaged to leave the river, with their ships and troops, as soon as the season would permit.' The season permitting their immediate departure with the greatest safety and propriety, the last condition in the Nabob's letter, joined to his whole behaviour, convinced us that leaving the river was no part of their intention but that, on the contrary, they had his assent to bring up their troops if they could, which Colonel Clive was determined they should not, as the Nabob had not withdrawn his orders to oppose them, and in this he was heartily joined by his Council. Ruin to the Company, if not to the country, must have been the inevitable consequence of their junction with the troops they had in garrison at Chinsura, which once accomplished would have been, beyond all doubt, attended with a declaration from the Government in their favour and as probably a union between them which must have ended in our destruction."

"A very few days justified our suspicions and resolutions, for in place of the Dutch leaving the river, we received certain intelligence of their moving

up, and that they were enlisting troops under every denomination at Chinsura, Cossimbazar and Patna, and this plainly with connivance of the Nabob."

"Whatever may have been the joint or separate views of the Dutch and Nabob against us, it is most certain that they never could have had a more favourable conjuncture to carry them into execution, for what with the unforeseen and inevitable long stay of our troops on the Golconda expedition, the detention on the Coast of Coromandel of the forces appointed for this settlement, and the necessity the Governor was under of leaving a considerable party at Patna in May last, our garrison here was inconsiderable."

"Our Governor, with indefatigable dispatch, made every necessary disposition to circumvent the designs of our enemies. The *Calcutta*, *Duke of Dorset* and *Hardwicke*, (the only ships we had in the river) were ordered to proceed immediately to town, the detachments at Tanna and Charnoc's were strengthened and heavy cannon mounted at each, as also on two faces of our new fort commanding the river. The Patna party was recalled and the Militia put under arms. The Governor wrote likewise to the Nabob in strong and peremptory terms to send his son down with his army to invest Chinsura, but the politics of the Durbar, at this period, we believe, ran counter, where we judge it was determined to let the English and Dutch weaken and destroy one another, when they would probably have attempted to reduce both or join with the strongest."

"Soon as the Dutch thou[illegible]heir scheme ripe for action, they sent us an immense remonstrance, recapitulating the whole of all their former ones and vowing vengeance and reprisals if we persisted in searching their boats, and obstructing the advance of their troops up the river. To this we replied once for all, that we had given no insult to their colours or attacked or touched their property or infringed their privileges; that with respect to their bringing troops into Bengal, the Nabob knew best how far it was incumbent on him to preserve the peace and tranquillity of his country; that their boats had been stopped and searched, and the advance of their troops opposed by orders from the Viceroy and under the Emperor his master's colours and by his troops, that they must apply therefore to him, and that we were ready to interpose our friendly offices to mitigate his resentment. This it may be thought, savoured of audacity, but facts vindicated us, as the Fouzdaar had neither withdrawn his troops, which consisted of four or five hundred horse, nor the Nabob his orders, and all that was done below was under the Government's colours. Notwithstanding which, on receipt of the last Dutch remonstrance, we found our sentiments a good deal embarrassed, doubting whether we should stand justified to our country and employers in commencing hostilities against an ally of England, supposing they should persist in passing the batteries below, with their ships and troops."

"In this situation we anxiously wished the next hour would bring us news of a declaration of war

with Holland, which we had indeed soon reason to expect, by our last advices from England. Another strong reason which determined us to oppose them and on which subject we had been guarded against by the Court of Directors, who had intimated that in all likelihood the Dutch would first commence hostilities against us in India."

CHAPTER XI

OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE DUTCH. THE BATTLE OF BADARA

1759

"Thus circumstanced, the Dutch themselves removed all our difficulties by beginning hostilities below, attacking with shot and seizing seven of our vessels, grain boats, etc., tearing down our colours, disembarking our guns, military stores etc. from our vessels to their own ships, making prisoners of the captains, officers etc. They also began hostilities on shore in our Purgunnahs [1] off Fulta and Riapore, where they tore down our colours and burnt the houses and effects of the Company's tenants in those parts. Amongst the vessels they attacked and seized was the *Leopard Snow*, Captain Barclay, whom we had despatched with expresses to Admiral Cornish to hasten his coming to our succour, which we judged would meet him somewhere on the Arracan Coast."

"On this event we concluded, with the greatest probability, that the Dutch had received intelligence of a rupture between them and us in Europe, or

[1] Subdivision of a district.

that they were sure of the Nabob joining them, or of his standing neuter at least; and having the utmost reason to suspect the Nabob's whole conduct, Governor Clive apprised him of the acts of violence the Dutch had committed below, adding that as they had commenced actual war against us, he should judge the quarrel now subsisted between them and us only, desiring he would leave chastising the Dutch to us, and desist from sending either his son or any part of his army to our assistance; but that if he would convince us of his sincerity and attachment, he should directly surround their subordinates and distress them in the country to the utmost."

"Hitherto we knew not whether the Dutch intended to pass the batteries with their ships and troops on board, or whether their intention was to land the latter as high up as they could, and march them overland. The Governor however made the necessary dispositions against both, as far as our small body of troops would permit, consisting, on the whole, of about two hundred and forty Europeans of the battalion, about eighty of the train and twelve hundred Sepoys. The best troops and the largest proportion of these, with many volunteers drafted from the militia and part of the independent company, formed into a troop of horse, were stationed at Charnoc's and Tanna under the command of Captain Knox."

"Colonel Forde, on account of his ill state of health and dismission from the service, had returned to us a few days before these troubles, and notwith-

standing both most obligingly and readily, at the Governor's request, took upon him the command of the remaining troops in the garrison, which marched to the northward on the 19th November, on which day Mr. Holwell was ordered to take charge of Fort William, with the militia, consisting of about two hundred and fifty Europeans, besides some of the Portuguese inhabitants ; the Governor dividing his attention and presence between both divisions, those at Charnoc's and those in the field."

"The first stroke struck against the Dutch was possessing ourselves of Barnagore from whence Colonel Forde passed over the river with his troops and four field pieces to Serampore, the Danish factory, and marched towards Chandanagore ; not only with the view of striking terror into Chinsura, but to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops, in case they should disembark and attempt to gain that place by land."

Forde, in writing to Clive from Chittapore on the 22nd November [1] states that, having embarked the artillery, tents and stores, he intended to embark the troops that evening and that, in order to gain intelligence of the enemy's movements, he had sent four boats up the river. In conclusion, he wrote :—

"I believe the Mynheers are damnably at a loss

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 241.

how to act upon this occasion, notwithstanding they have a Veldt Marshal at their head."

"During this period, the Dutch ships kept advancing with their captures and prisoners and our three ships in their rear, whose orders were peremptorily to pass them and station themselves above the batteries, where fire boats and every other needful step was taken to destroy the Dutch ships, if they attempted to pass. The Dutch Commander sent two orders to Commodore Wilson prohibiting his passing their ships, and that if he attempted it, he would fire upon him."

"On the 21st November, the Dutch armament came to an anchor in Sankeral Reach, whose point was within range of our cannon from the batteries. On the 23rd November they landed on the opposite shore, seven hundred Europeans and about eight hundred Buggoses, and dropped down with their ships to Melancholy Point, the lower end of the reach, being near where our ships lay; of which advice was immediately dispatched to Colonel Forde, with assurance that he should be reinforced, with the utmost expedition, by Captain Knox and the parties at the batteries, who were accordingly recalled."

"On the 23rd, orders were sent to our Commodore to demand immediate restitution of our ships, subjects and property, or to fight, sink, burn and destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal. The next day the demand was made and refused. True British spirit was manifested on this occasion. Notwithstanding the inequality (the Dutch having seven

to three, and four of them capital ships) we attacked them, and after about two hours engagement, the Dutch Commodore struck, and the rest followed the example, except his second, who cut and run down the river as low as Culpee, when she was stopped short by the *Oxford* and *Royal George*, who had arrived two days before and had our orders to join the other captains. The Dutch Commodore had about thirty men killed and many wounded; she suffered the most amongst them, as did the *Duke of Dorset* on our side, who was more immediately engaged with her."

"On the same day, the 24th, Colonel Forde marched from the French gardens to the northward, intending to encamp between Chandanagore and Chinsura. In his march through the former, he was attacked by the Dutch, with four pieces of cannon, and the garrison from Chinsura which had marched out and lodged themselves in the houses and ruins of Chandanagore, at the very time the Colonel entered with his troops at the southermost end. However he soon dislodged them from their ambush, took their cannon and pursued them with some slaughter to the very barriers of Chinsura, which he prepared to invest, being now joined by Captain Knox and the troops from Charnoc's and Tanna batteries."

When writing to Captain Carnac (Appendix R), the same day, Forde gives his loss in this engagement to have been only two men

killed and three or four wounded. The Dutch ten or twelve killed and about the same number wounded and prisoners, besides a good number wounded that had escaped capture. He also stated that, being as weak as water owing to his recent illness, he would never have been able to join in the pursuit had he not dismounted a trooper and taken his horse.

From the prisoners he had taken at Chandanagore and from other sources,[1] Forde learnt that same evening that the Dutch force landed from the ships would certainly arrive the following day (the 25th). He at once sent off an express to Clive, stating that he thought he had a fair prospect of destroying the enemy, but that he did not like to attack the troops of a European nation, not in a state of war with us, without an Order in Council. Clive was engaged in playing whist when this note reached him. He read it and without quitting the table, he wrote on the back of the note in pencil, "Dear Forde, fight them immediately; I will send you the Order in Council tomorrow."

Hough in *Military Events in India*, Vol. i. p. 20, in a footnote, gives another version of this incident as follows:

[1] Malleson's *Lord Clive*.

"When Colonel Forde reported to Clive the arrival of the Dutch in the river and wrote for orders, Clive was playing at cards and wrote on the back of the *nine of diamonds*: 'Fight them and I will send you an Order in Council to-morrow'."

Armed with this authority Forde, early in the morning of the 25th, took up at Badara, about midway between Chandernagore and Chinsura, a position commanding the road to the latter place. His right rested on the village of Badara, his left on a mango grove, both of which he occupied, his front was covered by a broad and deep ditch. Securely planted behind this his guns commanded the treeless plain in front of it. It was the very best position that could have been taken, for whilst very defensive, it commanded all the approaches.

At about ten o'clock in the morning, the Dutch force, led by Colonel Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, was seen advancing across the plain. The engagement which followed was short, bloody and decisive.

As soon as the Dutch arrived within range, the four guns of the English opened fire. Nothwithstanding, the gaps they made, the Dutch still pressed on; the ditch, however,

the existence of which they were ignorant, stopped them. The confusion which this necessary halt caused to their rearmost files, and the exposure of their line to a concentrated fire of small arms from the English, some posted in the village, some in the grove, proved fatal to the Dutch. Unable to press on and the greater number ignorant of the cause of the stoppage, they fairly turned. Forde used the first moment of wavering which they displayed to launch at them his English cavalry. The small number of these was not, at the moment, apparent to the enemy, and the charge, made at an opportune moment, forced the Dutch back in disorder.

Seeing the effect produced, that the Dutch were fairly broken, the cavalry of the Nawab which had not responded to the invitation to accompany their European comrades in the first charge, dashed forward and completed the defeat. No victory was ever more decisive.[1] Of the seven hundred Europeans and eight hundred Malays comprising the Dutch force, one hundred and twenty of the former and

[1] "Such," writes Broome in his *History of the Bengal Army*, "was the brilliant victory of Badara, marked by an extraordinary degree of skill and courage and most important in its results, and yet the name of the action is scarcely ever mentioned."

two hundred of the latter were left dead on the field, three hundred, in about equal proportion of both, were wounded, whilst Colonel Roussel, fourteen of his officers, three hundred and fifty Dutch and two hundred Malays were made prisoners. Some sixty of the former and two hundred and fifty of the latter escaped, and of these only fourteen eventually succeeded in finding their way to Chinsura.

Our loss was inconsiderable. Forde in his letters (Appendix S) to Clive, written on the day of the fight, estimates them as being under ten killed and wounded. [1]

The English force on this occasion consisted of two hundred and forty infantry; eighty of the train (artillery) and fifty more Europeans composing the troops of horse and about eight hundred Sepoys. [2]

"After this action, Colonel Forde returned, sat down before Chinsura and wrote for further orders. [3] The Dutch were now as abject in their submission as they had been insolent in their supposed superiority. They wrote to Colonel Forde and likewise to the Board here, requesting he would cease hostilities and propose terms of amity."

[1] The account of Badara is taken from Malleson.

[2] For the Dutch account of this action see Appendix T.

[3] *Memorial of facts, &c.* contd.

"We judged we had sufficiently chastised and humbled them, without taking their settlement (which must have surrendered on the first summons) and agreed to enter on a Treaty with them. Deputies were appointed and things brought to a speedy and amicable conclusion. They disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages, on which their ships were delivered up to them."

"Three days after the battle of Badara, the young Nabob, with about six or seven thousand horse arrived and encamped within a coss [1] of Chinsura; this struck the Dutch with the deepest terror. Governor Clive was wrote to, in the most supplicatory terms to interpose and not abandon them to the violence of the Moors. [2] The Governor interposed and went directly to the French gardens that he might be a nearer check upon the young Nabob and prevent him proceeding to extremities with them."

"His friendly interposition had its proper effect; the young Nabob received their deputies, and after severe altercation, forgave them and promised ample protection in their trade and privileges on the following terms: [3]—That they shall never meditate war, introduce or enlist troops or raise fortifications in the country; that they shall be allowed to keep

[1] About 1¾ miles.

[2] Moor was an ordinary term for a Mahomedan.

[3] For the full text of these negociations, see Appendix U.

up one hundred and twenty five European soldiers and no more, for the service of their several factories at Chinsura and Patna; that they shall forthwith send their ships and remaining troops out of the country, and that a breach of any one of these articles shall be punished with utter expulsion. These terms ratified by the Council of Hooghley, and the Nabob thus satisfied for the trouble and expense of his march, he broke up his camp and returned to the city."

"Thus ended an affair which, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction; for had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing proofs to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna[1] would have been lost in their treatment of this colony."

"Mr. Bisdom, the Dutch Governor, was in a dying condition during the whole of these transactions and opposed, jointly with Messrs. Zuydland and Bacheracht, the violence of their proceedings, but they were overruled by the rest of their Council, led by Messrs Vernet and Schevichaven, two men of desperate fortunes and violent and evil principles, who, we doubt not, will pay severely for their imprudence."

There appears every reason to conclude from this narrative as well as from other accounts that Mir Jafar had originally given

[1] Appendix V.

countenance to an intrigue with the Dutch, carried on through Cajar Wazeed, but there can be no doubt that the conduct of Clive, on the subsequent invasion of the Shah Zada, had made a change in his sentiments. He readily therefore gave the requisite orders to the Dutch forbidding them to land any troops.

"He declared to me," Mr. Hastings writes to Clive on the 4th August, 1759, "that if they brought any armed force into his country, he would look upon them as enemies, and treat them accordingly."

Clive, at this time, had at first no person of any distinction to aid him, until Colonel Forde arrived from Masulipatam.

This officer, as has been mentioned, was in a bad state of health, and accounts had reached Bengal that the Directors had not confirmed his nomination to the chief military post in that Presidency, but neither indisposition nor disgust at this treatment prevented him from offering his valuable services to his friend and patron at this critical time, when they were so much required. His skill and gallantry were alike conspicuous in attacking and defeating so superior a force. A more critical situation than that in which Clive was placed

by the arrival of the Dutch naval and military force can hardly be conceived. The responsibility he took upon himself in determining to oppose it, was great, but his mind never faltered when the public welfare was in danger.

When some of his friends remonstrated with him on the risk which he incurred in opposing, during peace, the passage of the troops of a friendly nation up the Ganges, he is said to have answered that "a public man may occasionally be called to act with a halter round his neck."

A very minute investigation of the whole subject took place in Europe, but the Dutch local government in the treaty into which they entered with the English had acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and Clive had been so cautious in every step he took, that his conduct could not be impugned. He received, as he merited, unqualified approbation for this last act of his government, which terminated, as it was meant to do, all attempts of the Dutch to rival the political power of the English in Bengal. Their transactions henceforth were solely commercial.

CHAPTER XII

THE SUPERSESSION OF FORDE BY EYRE COOTE

1759

"I," says Malcolm in his *Memoir of Robert, Lord Clive*, "have before mentioned the origin of Clive's regard for Colonel Forde, the grounds upon which he selected him for the Command in Bengal, and the degree in which he deemed himself indebted to him for his great and brilliant achievements." We shall also see the poignant feelings with which he regarded the conduct of the Court of Directors towards this able and gallant officer, who, immediately after the capture of Masulipatam, had the mortification to find himself superseded by Colonel Eyre Coote who, a year before, had been his junior in Adlercron's regiment,[1] but returning from India with fortune and reputation, had obtained a Colonel's commission, and

[1] When Forde was promoted to Major on 13th November, 1755, Coote was the junior Captain in the regiment. *Army List.*

had just landed at Madras in command of the 84th Regiment destined for Calcutta.

In a lengthy despatch[1] dated 23rd March, 1759, the Court of Directors in appointing Colonel Eyre Coote to be the Commander in Chief on the Bengal Establishment states "the great advantage and benefit that must arise to us by connecting the King's and our own forces under one Commander is obvious and leaves no room to employ Colonel Forde." It goes on to say to the President and Council at Fort William (Calcutta) that the conditions on which Bengal appointed Forde were not at all agreeable to the Court of Directors, and ordered Clive and his colleagues to do nothing of the kind again, but to leave the choice of any future Commander in Chief in Bengal, should a vacancy occur through Coote's death or absence, to Colonel Stringer Lawrence, who was then commanding the troops in the Madras Presidency.

This despatch, which took away from Clive and his Council the power of nominating their own Commander in Chief, was naturally much resented, and we gather from a letter,[2] written

[1] *Bengal Despatches*, (India Office), Vol. i. p. 926.
[2] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 287. (India Office).

by Clive to Mr. Vansittart on the 20th August, that the former was anxious to go home, and in which he says that his wish is to have Vansittart appointed Governor during his absence, and that if he cannot prevail on the Court of Directors to appoint Forde and Caillaud to the chief military commands, "I shall be very glad to have quitted the service."[1]

Although Colonel Coote had evinced, on the expedition to Bengal in 1757, those qualities as an officer which subsequently made him so renowned, neither his opportunities nor achievements bore as yet any comparison with those of Colonel Forde; but the successes of the latter were not known in England, at the period of Coote's appointment.

Many therefore will deny the justice of Clive's complaint of the conduct of his superiors on this occasion, but even these must admire that warmth and decision with which he pledged himself to support an officer with whom he had no private friendship, except such as had been formed in consequence of his public services.

The news of Colonel Coote's arrival reached Clive about the same period as the account of Forde's capture of Masulipatam, and of the

[1] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 287. (India Office.)

conclusion of the treaty with the Subahdar of the Deccan. Desiring, at such a moment, to afford every consolation to the mind of that meritorious officer, he not only stated his opinion as to his superior claims to those of the officer by whom he was superseded, but gave him the most unqualified assurances of his future support.

"I can easily conceive," he observes, in a letter dated 24th August, 1759,[1] to Colonel Forde, "that such rank and honour bestowed (I think I can say without flattery) on one so much your inferior in every respect, must give you much concern. I assure you, it has affected me greatly and is one of my principal reasons for wanting to push home with the utmost expedition on the *Royal George*. I flatter myself the request I have to make will not be denied me, which is that you will stay in Bengal all next year, provided Coote remains on the Coast. If within that time, I do not get you a Colonel's or Lieutenant Colonel's commission and an appointment of Commander in Chief of all the forces in India, I will from that instant decline all transactions with Directors and East Indian affairs."

While Clive's resentment was great at the Court of Directors annulling Forde's appointment to Bengal, and while his attachment to

[1] *Memoir of Robert Lord Clive.* Malcolm.

that officer was greatly heightened by his admirable conduct in destroying the Dutch, there were other feelings that may have influenced his mind.

He certainly entertained, at this period, a strong prejudice against Colonel Eyre Coote, which may possibly have originated from the prominent manner in which that officer, when only a Captain, was brought forward at Calcutta to support the alleged rights of His Majesty's service against those of the Company. But we have nevertheless proofs that Clive appreciated his talents from his employing him on all occasions, and particularly in detaching him, after the battle of Plassey, in pursuit of the French Corps. But, at the same time that he entertained this high opinion of his military talents, he considered, from his whole conduct in Bengal, that he was mercenary and prone to intrigue, and consequently an unfit person to be entrusted with great power on such a scene.

"I (Malcolm) do not find among Clive's papers any specific grounds to justify this opinion; and in the absence of all such documents, we must conclude, from the high reputation which Colonel Coote attained and supported, that it was erroneous, or at all

events, if this eminent commander evinced, in his youth, any such dispositions as those of which he was suspected, they were early corrected; for though he never displayed any remarkable talents as a statesman, he assuredly became as qualified for the chief military command in India as any person that ever held that station; and during his latter years, the love and esteem in which he was held by his countrymen was even exceeded by the affectionate regard and attachment of the native troops, whom he so often led to victory."

"In giving this tribute to a soldier, justice must be done to Clive by declaring my (Malcolm's) sincere conviction (formed from the perusal of his numerous letters upon the subject) that he was most sincere and conscientious in the opinion he expressed and upon which he acted. With such impressions on his mind, he certainly thought he was doing his duty to the public by his endeavour to keep Colonel Coote at Madras, and he was so solicitous to effect this object that he consented to the request of the Government of Fort St. George, that the regiment of that officer should remain for some time in the Presidency."

"He enters fully upon this subject in his correspondence, both with Mr. Pigot and Mr. Vansittart, but his letters contain merely a repetition of his opinion as to Colonel Coote's unfitness for the general command of the forces in Bengal, while he recognises the benefit to be derived from his services in the mere military operations on the Coast of Coromandel."

The success of Clive's efforts, on this occasion, proved fortunate for the reputation of Colonel Coote who, during the subsequent year, established a high military character by the battle of Wandiwash and the capture of Pondicherry.

I have been compelled to enter more at length upon this subject than I desired from its being intimately connected with those disputes, regarding the employment of officers in India, in which Clive became involved on his return to England.

Colonel Coote, when he revisited his native country after the campaign of 1757, was received with favor and distinction. He was possessed of a small fortune, his connections were respectable, and his manners and address manly and agreeable. He became more prominent from being the senior King's land officer employed on the Bengal expedition, and from the comparative low estimation in which the Company's officers[1] were held at that period; his fame was advanced to detract from their pretensions. He was represented as a rising officer, of whom Clive was jealous, and it was

[1] Although Clive held the King's commission as Lieut. Colonel, he was always looked upon as a Company's officer.

believed by many, (till contradicted several years after by his own evidence), that it was through Coote's advice and remonstrance that the battle of Plassey was fought.

"Besides the influence and popularity which these combined causes gave to this officer, he enjoyed the marked favor and friendship of Lawrence Sullivan the Chairman of the Court of Directors, whose subsequent rupture with Clive is in a great degree to be attributed to their difference in opinion with regard to the respective pretensions and merits of Colonels Coote and Forde." [1]

Clive's correspondence, at this period, contains the fullest evidence that, independently of other motives, one great object of his return to England was the hope of being able, by his personal representations and influence, to obtain the adoption of measures which he thought calculated to preserve India.

In bidding farewell to India, Forde wrote the following letter [2] to the President and Council of Fort William :—

" Gentlemen "

" However disposed I was to have fulfilled the remainder of my time with you and which I should

[1] *Memoir of Robert, Lord Clive.* Malcolm.

[2] *Bengal Public Consultations,* (India Office), Vol. 31, p. 858.

with pleasure have executed could I have flattered myself with being of the least use to your settlement, I have it now no longer in my power; the Gentlemen in the Direction having thought proper to dismiss me the service. I shall ever esteem it a particular honor to have been nominated by you to the command of the troops on this establishment, and it gives me the highest satisfaction that some good success has attended my zeal and endeavours for your service, so that I have not been altogether an unprofitable servant."

"I have only to add that I shall ever retain the most grateful sense of your favors and that I am, with the most fervent wishes for your success"

"Gentlemen
Your most obliged and obedient servant
Francis Forde."

Calcutta
10th December 1759.

To this the President and Council sent a reply,[1] on 17th December in the following terms:—

"It gives us real concern to find the Court of Directors have not approved of our appointment of you to the Majority of this settlement, that our requesting you to accept of that station was founded upon the opinion we had entertained of your abili-

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (India Office), Vol. 31, p. 855.

ties as an Officer and a soldier, and that we can say with pleasure you have greatly answered our expectations, that we therefore offer you the general thanks of this Board for the many great and eminent services you have rendered the East India Company as well as in Deccan as in Bengal itself. Services which must, when they are as publickly known in England as they are in the East Indies, be gratefully acknowledged by the Court of Directors. That we heartilly wish you a long enjoyment of health and a safe return to your native country."

It is supposed that Clive and Forde went home together, when the former is known to have embarked on the *Royal George* in February, 1760. The chief command in Bengal was taken over by Major Caillaud, an officer who already had gained great distinction by his military services. Mr. Vansittart succeeded to the Governorship of Bengal.

From this date, the active military career of Forde ceased. He had resigned his commission in the King's service in order to serve the East India Company which dismissed him. Beyond one or two private letters (Appendix W), which are of small interest, nothing further is heard of him until the occurrence of events related in the next chapter.

Clive, in resigning the Governorship of

Bengal, addressed the Council at Calcutta, on 23rd January, in these words :—[1]

"Whatever the sentiments of the Court of Directors might have been in their General Letter to me of 3rd March, they seem entirely to have forgot them, they certainly have paid no great Compliment to my Military Capacity in appointing Colonel Coote, Commander in Chief of all their forces in Bengal."

"I shall only remark that by this Appointment, I suppose they meant to put it out of my Power to serve the Company in that Capacity in which I am undoubtedly the best qualified."

Clive appears to have stayed in England for about three and a half years, with the intention of not again returning to India, for in a letter dated 27th April, 1764, to the Court of Directors, in which he somewhat unwillingly accepts the Governorship of Bengal, instead of remaining in England, he enters into a short discussion of the political, commercial and military affairs of Bengal.

In concluding the latter subject, Clive submits to the consideration of the Court his ideas and opinions on the proper method of raising troops in England. While paying a just tribute to the high character of the Indian

[1] *Orme's MSS.* Vol. 21, p. 57. (India Office.)

Army, he suggests the necessity of keeping up an European force of four or at least three thousand men, rendered more necessary by the removal of the King's troops at this time. In order that due attention might be paid to the selection of recruits and to ensure a proper supply of efficient men, he suggests that the Company should apply to His Majesty for permission to maintain two battalions in England of five hundred men each and, as a reward for the important services of Colonels Coote and Forde, he recommends that these two officers should be nominated to command them.

It has been well said that Clive was ever warm and enthusiastic in his encomiums of those who were distinguished in the service of their country. They not only became entitled to his notice in his official capacity, but received every mark of his private regard, and his utmost efforts were used to promote their advancement. Many examples of this part of his character have been illustrated in the case of Colonel Forde, and there still remains one more letter urging the great claims of this distinguished officer.

It appears that in the hurry of leaving

England, he forgot to include Mr. Call, the Chief Engineer at Madras, in his recommendation for a brevet commission as Colonel. He wrote on the 14th October, 1764,[1] from Rio Janeiro, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, Mr. Rous, entreating he would rectify his mistake and prevent so excellent an officer being hurt by neglect. In the same letter he called his attention, in a very forcible manner, to the merits of Colonel Forde.

"If Caillaud should not go to the Coast of Coromandel, pray do not forget Colonel Forde, who is a brave, meritorious and honest officer. He was offered a Jaghire[1] by the Subahdar of the Deccan, but declined taking it upon terms contrary to the interests of the Company. Lord Clive, General Lawrence and Colonel Coote have received marks of the Directors' approbation and esteem; Colonel Forde has received none. The two Captains who fought and took the Dutch ships in the Ganges, received each a piece of plate, but Colonel Forde, the conqueror of Masulipatam, who rendered the Company a much greater service by the total defeat of the Dutch land forces in Bengal, has not been distinguished by any mark of the Company's favor."

There is every reason to suppose that Clive's

[1] *Memoir of Robert, Lord Clive.* Malcolm.

[1] Hereditary assignment of land and of its rent as an annuity.

pertinacity in urging the claims of Forde was unsuccessful, who was however never forgotten by his generous hearted patron.

Lord Clive finally embarked for England in January, 1767, and landed at Portsmouth on the 14th July, being succeeded as Governor of Bengal by Mr. Henry Verelst.

CHAPTER XIII

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION OF SUPERVISORS [1] DEATH OF COLONEL FORDE

1768

In 1768, the East India Company was involved in a troublesome and expensive war with the Nizam Hyder Ali on the Coast of Coromandel. This war did not promise to result in any advantage to the Company but, on the contrary, was attended with the most pernicious effects as regards its interests, both at home and in the East Indies. By many circumstances which at this time came to light, it appears to have been wantonly entered into by the Company's servants, to further their own private purposes and rewards. The manner in which it was conducted was shameful and dishonourable to the character of the nation. Field Deputies were appointed to

[1] Except where otherwise stated, this chapter is taken from the *Annual Register*, 1769, 1771.

attend the army and to control and superintend the conduct of the Commander in Chief. The office of Field Deputy was, on this occasion, created only for the purpose of providing a lucrative job for those appointed to it. These Deputies being deeply concerned in the contracts for supplying the army, took care to regulate its movements in a manner best suited to their private interests or convenience.

On this account, the war has been marked with a stigma which never before disgraced our history. British officers deserted the cause of their country and entered into the service of a native prince. Forts were given up so shamefully as to give too much ground to hostile critics in suggesting betrayal to the enemy.

The revenues of Madras being insufficient to meet the great expenses incurred, large remittances were made from Bengal.

These remittances were made in a base kind of gold coin, by which the Company were said to have lost forty thousand pounds.

This had the effect of stopping all trade, as no silver was current in the country and the manufacturers were at a standstill for fear of the enemy.

It does not appear that Hyder Ali had committed any act of hostility or given any cause of offence which justified the war; on the contrary, he opened his ports to the Company's merchant ships and the Company's employees had free intercourse with his dominions up to the moment of the rupture. When peace was proposed, Hyder Ali willingly acceded, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained.

The expense, the damage done by ravaging a friendly country, and the harm done to our trade, were very prejudicial. The consequences of this ill-advised war were not confined to the East Indies; those in England took alarm. India Stock fell about sixty per cent. in a few days, although the Directors published despatches which proved there was no real danger, and that the Company had never been in a more flourishing state.

The Directors now thought it necessary to take measures to stop the abuses and mismanagement which had so disgraced the Company's rule in India. For this purpose it was deemed necessary that three gentlemen of reliable character and great ability and experience in the Company's business should be

invested with extraordinary powers and sent to India as Supervisors, with full authority to examine into and rectify the work and proceedings of every department ; to suspend, if necessary, even the Presidents and Councils, and to frame regulations adapted to the exigencies of circumstances.

To this important trust, Mr. Vansittart, Colonel Forde and Mr. Scrafton, all of whom had distinguished themselves in India, were appointed.

Mr. Vansittart owed his appointment to the influence of Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, and the two latter to that of Clive, who had been in England since the 14th July, 1767.

Forde accepted the appointment in a letter, addressed to Mr. P. Mitchell, dated 20th June, 1769 (Appendix X). Each Commissioner was to receive pay at the rate of ten thousand pounds yearly from the day of departure from England to that of return.[1]

Although the reprehensible conduct of the Company's employees was not disputed and the necessity of some such measure was generally allowed, yet the manner of it, and the powers

[1] *East Indies. Home Series Misc.*, Vol. 204. (India Office).

with which the Supervisors were to be entrusted, occasioned great debates.

The friends and relations of those who were already holding great appointments in India, and who formed a very considerable party, were of course adverse to the sending out of Supervisors. Some had particular objections to the gentlemen appointed, others, from principle, did not think it safe to trust any body of men with too much power; every inch of the ground was disputed, new objections were continually started, and no resolution in connection with this measure could pass without it being first put to the ballot.

At six o'clock on the evening of the 12th July, 1769, the following question was put:— "That this Court do agree with the Court of Directors, that it is necessary, at this time, to send out a Commission with extraordinary powers to regulate their affairs in India."

Scrutineers were appointed, and at seven o'clock the result of the ballot was: for the question two hundred and seventy nine; against it two hundred and fifty nine. Majority twenty. When the powers to be granted to the Supervisors were at length settled and the commission for that purpose accordingly pas-

sed, some unexpected objections made by the Ministry, together with an extraordinary proposal that the Company should give to a servant of the Crown a principal share in the conduct of their affairs in India, occasioned fresh delay and prevented, for some time, the expediting of this measure.

The Directors, having considered the great weight that a naval force would give to their negociations with the Indian Princes, had, during the course of their debate, applied to Government for two ships of the line and some frigates. No direct answer was given to this application, but as it was known that Sir John Lindley was appointed to the command of the ships intended for this expedition, it was looked upon as tacitly complied with.

The Company would at any time have been entitled to the protection of Government, and the large annual revenue which it now paid particularly appeared to give it a right to expect, not only protection, but favor. As the application had been only made by the Directors, it was thought proper to give it more weight by obtaining the sanction of a general Court, and thereby become the act of the

whole Company. A motion to that effect was accordingly put and unanimously agreed to.

Another Court was held to receive the answer of Government and to put the finishing touch to all measures connected with the departure of the Supervisors. This Court was held on the 19th August, at which a letter was read from Lord Weymouth, one of the Secretaries of State, in which he said that the Commission appointing the present Supervisors to India had been taken into consideration by His Majesty's servants and that it was, in their opinion, in some respects illegal. That he was sorry to find in an answer which he had received from the Directors, respecting the appointment of a naval officer with full powers to adjust all maritime affairs in India, that they had not totally acceded to it. He therefore now begged of the Directors that they would reconsider the Commission in general and that the particular article of granting unlimited powers to a naval officer might be laid before the proprietary at large.

In consequence of this letter, a large amount of correspondence between the Ministry and the Directors was now laid before the proprietors. It appeared by the powers which the

former required to be granted to the naval commanding officer, that he was in fact to superintend the Supervisors, as well as the Company's political affairs in India. The Directors acknowledged that they were willing to allow the King's naval commander a certain degree of power jointly with the Governor and Council of Bengal, but that there were many sufficient reasons which prevented them from generally acquiescing in the request; not only on account of the danger of entrusting any one person with such extraordinary powers, but on account of the perpetual opportunity of interference which would thereby be given to Government as regards the Company's affairs. At the same time, they informed the proprietors that the Commission had already undergone the revision of counsel, and had received the sanction of some of the most eminent legal authorities in the Kingdom. A day was then appointed for the holding of another Court, to consider the subject further.

At this Court, which was held on the 15th August, another letter was read from the same minister and which had been received that morning. In this he acquainted the Court that, by the answer he had received to his last

communication, he imagined that they had to a certain extent misunderstood him; that it had never been his idea to invest a naval officer with plenipotentiary powers; that he only wanted to establish such a share in the business of administration as would be good for the Company; that as his first letter, with the Directors' answer, were now to be laid before the proprietors at large, in order to prevent any misunderstanding in the future, he recommended the discussion only of the two following points:—

First: the reconsideration of the Commission, and secondly: the degree of authority to be properly invested in a naval officer.

To the first of these he said that, as it was a point on the legality of which there were different opinions, among the servants of the Crown and the counsel of the Company, he would not pretend to speak on it, but in regard to the second, as Government at the request of the Company, in the eleventh article of the last definite treaty of peace with France, made conditions with several Princes in India, it highly respected their honour, and an officer of the Crown should be the principal agent in all matters offensive and defensive.

The designs of the Ministry were now too obvious to be mistaken and too alarming not to be vigorously opposed. The Directors put it before the Court that this request was a matter which affected the standing and safety of the Company, in the highest degree, that it was not therefore to be hastily decided, but required the most serious deliberation and the coolest discussion ; that the Court should be accordingly adjourned, and sufficient time given to every proprietor before the next meeting to revolve the matter in his mind, to consult the charters and enquire into the privileges of the Company, or consider well whether any or what part of their rights might be given up, and that, in their concessions to Government, they did not endanger their own safety. It was hoped they would pay the greatest attention to these points, for their affairs were never in a more critical situation, nor the honour of the Company more deeply concerned.

A considerable time was accordingly taken for the consideration of this subject and at the ensuing general meeting much debated. It was said that if authority was given to the King's officer to interfere with the governmental affairs of India, the power of the

Company in that part of the world would, from that moment, be at an end. That applying to Government for assistance and, at the same time, investing the officers of the Crown with independent powers, was in effect surrendering the Company's territorial acquisitions in India to the direction of the King's ministers, the consequences of which might be easily foreseen. That whenever any contest shall arise between the King's servants and those of the Company, the incident must be fatal to the latter; such contests might very naturally be expected to arise as had been the case on many former occasions. That if the Company is of itself unable to maintain the territories which it has acquired, it were better to surrender the sovereignty to the powers of the country upon terms advantageous to its commerce, than to be at the mercy of a minister.

It was shown that commerce could only thrive when it had unrestrained liberty as well as the most perfect security. The fatal effects of ministerial interference in commercial matters was exemplified in the present ruinous condition of the French East India Company; in the same way the great and flourishing state of the Dutch trade was made to show the

happy consequences that resulted from a different management. That the States General were so convinced of the importance of the East India trade and of the great national benefits arising from it, that every territorial or other acquisition of the Company in India was considered by that wise body as a national one. That they supported this policy and risked wars on its account, that however great were the exigencies of the State, the Company's property was held as sacred as any man's private property, and that the full yearly profits from their trade or revenue in India were fairly divided among the proprietors even when they amounted as high as seventy five per cent. That in this case the Government demands rose in proportion to the facility with which ill judged concessions had already been obtained, that the granting of an annual sum which exceeded their whole dividend, without a renewal of their charter or any adequate consideration being given, might have been deemed a sufficient gratification for the present, and did not deserve to be immediately succeeded by an attempt which struck at their very existence.

On the other hand, it was said that officers

bearing the King's commission would add dignity to the negociations that might be set on foot for establishing peace in India ; that the powers of the country being sovereigns themselves would more readily listen to propositions sanctified by the name of a great king, than coming only from a delegated company of merchants, to whom the necessity of submission could, from the nature of things, be only temporary, for it was folly to suppose that millions of reasonable beings would endure the yoke of a handful of rapacious individuals after they were in a position to unite in destroying them. That if Government did not feel inclined to grant protection to the Company's possessions in India, these important acquisitions would be lost to the nation, and all the immense advantages to be gained from them sacrificed to the humour of a few interested and turbulent persons. That the misconduct of the Company's servants in India was universally allowed, and that if it had admitted before of any doubt, the measure of sending the Supervisors would sufficiently prove it ; that nothing could prevent these enormities in future so effectually as the King's maintaining a person of rank, honour and integrity, in

such a position in that part of the world, who would be a sufficient check upon the rapacious and exorbitant conduct of their servants; at the same time he would not only be answerable for his own conduct to His Majesty, but also to the nation in general.

After many debates and several proposed alterations and modifications, the matter in dispute resolved itself into the following question, which was to be decided by ballot.

"That this Court will give the officer of the Crown, commanding ships of the line, a share in the deliberations and resolutions of the Company, merely with the object of making peace and declaring war, when His Majesty's forces are employed."

This motion was rejected by a great majority. A sort of compromise was effected by giving the King's representative extraordinary powers over events on the Persian Gulf only, the inhabitants on the coast of that part of the world having become lawless and troublesome. The power of making peace and war was therefore granted, by the Directors, to the naval commander in the Persian Gulf, beyond which his authority did not extend, and the

demand for ships of the line for the Bay of Bengal was suspended.

Two frigates of war were, however, ordered for that service, to convey the Supervisors, whose powers were at length finally settled, so that an end was put to this tedious course of debate and altercation.

Messrs. Vansittart, Scrafton and Colonel Forde left London for Portsmouth on the 21st September and embarked on the *Aurora* for India.

The vessel arrived at Madeira on the 11th October and at the Cape on the 6th December,[1] leaving on the 27th and was never heard of again, having foundered at sea with all hands. Search was made for her from Bombay by Sir John Lindley, but without result.

Thus ended the career of Colonel Forde.

"It is not creditable to his countrymen," says Sir A. Arbuthnot,[2] "that his services should have been left, as they were, entirely unrecognised. In these days of decorations bestowed with a lavish hand, and too often given for services of a mediocre quality, an attentive student of Indian history is amazed to learn that Forde was allowed to go to his grave,

[1] See Appendices Y and Z.

[2] *Lord Clive.*

without having received a decoration or honours of any description."

"In spite of this neglect," writes Malleson, in *Decisive Battles of India*, "his name has descended to this generation and it will descend to posterity as the name of a great Englishman; of one who nobly upheld the honour of his country and who, by the display of a calm and cool courage, aided most materially in laying the foundations of the British empire in India."

THE END

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A[1]

To the Hon'ble George Pigot Esq.
President and Governour &c.
Council at Fort St. George

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs

The Agent for His Majesty's Regiment under the command of Colonel Adlercron having advised me that he shipped and consigned to me on the *Doddington* 5 Chests of Silver marked I. A. No 1-5 as appears also by the Company's Manifest by that Ship, and understanding that a Chest of Silver mark'd I. A. No 5 was saved from the Wreck[2] of the said Ship, and is at this time deposited in your Treasury, I am to request you will please to give the necessary Orders for the delivery thereof to me.

I am
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs
Your most Obed't : humble Servant
Francis Forde

Fort St. George
11th October 1756

[1] *Public Consultations*, Vol. lxxxv, p. 480, Fort St. George Government Records.

[2] For an account see *Dodsley's Annual Register*, 1758.

APPENDIX B[1]

24th January 1758

Agreed to write to the Select Committee at Fort St. George.

. . . . . .

That upon the death of Major Kilpatrick, we apply'd to Lieut. Colonel Forde to come to Bengal and take charge of our Garrison as Major, that should he have set out for England in consequence of His Majesty's orders, or declines coming, we request they will in either case desire Captain Caillaud to make the best of his way to Calcutta and take the charge of our Garrison till we hear from the Company.

. . . . . .

22nd February 1758[2]

By the same vessel we rec[d] a letter from Col. Lawrence dated 17th January recommending Captain Caillaud to be nominated our Major in case Colonel Forde does not meet with motives sufficient to engage him to quit His Majesty's Service and remain with us.

Agreed we write to Messrs. Clive and Watts and transmit them the intelligence we have receiv'd from the Coast and inform of the arrival of Lieut. Colonel Forde on the *Sally*.

. . . . . .

[1] *Bengal Select Committee Consultations*, Range A, Vol. ii, p. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Colonel Forde being arrived on the *Sally* and in Town wrote the Committee a letter in reply to our address of the 14th November to him, demanding by way of compensation for quitting His Majesty's Service, the sum of £5000 in hand in case he remained in the Company's employ, with all the Honors, Pay and Emoluments as our Major.

Order'd

Colonel Forde's Letter to be enter'd.

As the Committee do not think themselves authorised to give Colonel Forde an Answer to his Proposal without consulting the Council.

Agreed this Letter be laid before the Board for their consideration and determination and that we inform them of our having apply'd to Colonel Forde to come to Bengal and take the charge of our Garrison as Major, with our reasons for so doing.

APPENDIX C [1]

To The Hon'ble Roger Drake Esq.
President and Governor and Members
of the Select Committee.
3rd February 1758.

Gentlemen

In compliance with the favour of your Request signify'd to me by your Letter of the 14th November 1757, the Triplicate and Quadruplicate whereof I

[1] *Bengal Select Committee Consultations*, Range A, Vol. ii, p. 41.

receiv'd, I took the first opportunity of proceeding from the Coast for the Bay.

I have much at heart, no man more, the Interest of the Company and shall be extremely happy if I can be instrumental in promoting the publick Service in these parts; however as I risque incurring His Majesty's displeasure by remaining here and must quit the Commission I at present hold in His Service, with all my future Prospects, which are pretty considerable, I cannot in justice to my Family embrace your polite Offer without something certain by way of Compensation, for the risque I run. I flatter myself, Gentlemen, that you yourselves will think me very moderate in fixing the Compensation at five thousand Pounds in hand, exclusive of the Pay, Emoluments and Honors annexed to the Commission as your Major.

I communicated the Letter with which you favor'd me to the Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort St. George and herewith enclose to you the answer I rec'd from them on that Occasion.

I have &c &c

Francis Forde.

APPENDIX D [1]

26th February 1758.

The Board then took into consideration Col. Forde's letter.

Proposal of receiving the sum of £5000 in hand with the pay, emoluments and honors as our Major in case he remained here, when Messrs Maningham and Pearkes were of opinion that as Col. Forde had been apply'd to by the Select Committee to take the charge of our Garrison. That as he must give up His Majesty's Service in case he remains in India, in the Company's employ and by that means relinquish the Expeditions he might have in Europe. And that we are greatly in want of an Officer of abilities to succeed Colonel Clive in case he returns to the Coast which at this juncture may be of infinite service to the Company's affairs. They think therefore for the above reasons, that Col. Forde's terms ought to be complied with, and are further of opinion that his demand is not unreasonable and but a small equivalent for the Expectations he must give up by engaging in the Company's Service.

The President (Hon. Roger Drake), Messrs Becher, Collet and Mackett are of opinion that though Col. Forde's demand of £5000 in hand is not an equivalent for the disadvantages his engaging in the Company's Service would be attended with, in respect to his fortune and advancement in His

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 30, p. 183. (India Office).

Majesty's employ, yet it would be quite unprecedented in the Company's affairs to comply with those terms. They are therefore of opinion Colonel Forde should be informed, the Board cannot consent to his proposal for being paid the sum of £5000 in hand, but that he may depend on the Pay, Emoluments and Honours of our Major in case he remains here as such.

Agreed therefore we do reply to Colonel Forde's Letter conformable to the Opinion of the Majority of the Board.

APPENDIX E [1]

To Hon'ble the Select Committee
for the affairs of the Hon'ble
East India Company.

Fort William
2nd March 1758.

Hon'ble Sirs

. . . . . .

You have been advised of our having apply'd to Lieut. Colonel Forde to come to Bengal and take the charge of our Garrison as Major of this Settlement, Triplicate and Quadruplicate of our Letters reached him at Fort St. George and he instantly embarked on the *Sally* in consequence of that application and arrived here a few days ago. Upon

[1] *Bengal Letters received*, (India Office), Vol. iii, p. 707.

his arrival he sent us a letter informing us how ready he should be to serve the Company by staying here, of the Disadvantages it would be attended with to himself by losing the Commission and Rank he bore in His Majesty's Service and requiring the sum of five thousand pounds in hand as Compensation for that Disadvantage.

This letter we laid before the Board, the majority whereof thought it would be making a contract of so unprecedented a kind in the Company's affairs that they could not assent to that part of Colonel Forde's proposals, notwithstanding they were sensible of the Disadvantage it would be to him. Messrs Manningham, Pearkes and Boddam were of a different opinion and thought that as the necessity of our Affairs obliged us to request Colonel Forde to proceed to the Bay, a compensation for his losing His Majesty's Service and future prospects therein ought to be made him, and that the Sum he had fixt on was a very reasonable one.

We wrote Colonel Forde an answer to his proposals conformable to the sentiments of the Majority of the Board, but at the same time we acquainted him, it was not possible in Europe to foresee the present Circumstances of the Company's Affairs in India, when His Majesty thought fit to recall the Regiment under Colonel Adlercron, and as the Crown had always shewn particular regard to the Interests and Welfare of the East India Company, we were inclined to think his stay at our Request in such an Exigency would not displease His Majesty nor lose

him the Rank he bore in His Service if properly represented by our Hon'ble Masters which we should recommend it to them to do in the strongest terms.

The Rank, Honor, Emoluments and Allowances was offered Colonel Forde as our Major in case he thought proper to remain in the Company's Service, but these terms not being accepted of, Colonel Forde has determined to return to Europe on the *Elizabeth* and we have given Captain Burdett orders to accomodate him in the best manner he is able.

. . . . . .

To the Hon'ble &c. &c.[1]

Fort William
2nd March 1758.

Hon'ble Sirs

Since closing the accompanying Letter, the Attorneys of Colonel Clive have taken upon them to answer for £2500 sterling being paid Colonel Forde by their Constituent in case he remains in the Company's Service and as the present Conjuncture is extreamly critical and an Officer of Ability greatly wanted in our present Situation to succeed Colonel Clive in case of an Accident happening to that Gentleman or he should return to the Coast, the President and Mr. Beecher join with Messrs Manningham, Pearkes and Boddam in thinking it very material to keep Lieut. Colonel Forde as a Major

[1] *Bengal Letters Received*, (India Office), vol. iii, p. 753.

of this Garrison and assent to the remaining sum of £2500 sterling being made good out of the Company's Cash to make up the Compensation demanded by Colonel Forde which we esteem very reasonable, and we flatter ourselves, the Hon'ble the Court of Directors will approve of the step we have taken to secure a good Officer in such precarious times.

If Colonel Forde's stay in the Company's Service at our Request was properly represented to His Majesty, it might be of use to him in preserving his Rank, and as we think his readiness to remain in India for the Company's Interest entitles him to that mark of your Favor, we beg leave to recommend it to your Consideration.

APPENDIX F[1]

The Attorneys of Colonel Clive having agreed to pay one Moiety of the Sum demanded by Lieut. Colonel Forde for engaging in the Company's Service. And the President (Roger Drake) and Mr. Beecher having (in consequence thereof) concurred with the other Members for acquiescing to the Colonel's demand. He has accepted of the Station of Major of this Settlement upon condition that Bills of Exchange be given on the Company for the Sum of £5000 as agreed on.

Order'd the Accountant therefore to draw up Bills for that Sum. And as it is customary for the Major

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (India Office), vol. xxx, p. 200.

to have a seat on the Board. Agreed Lieut. Colonel Forde have a seat on the Board as Third of Council on the spot.

APPENDIX G [1]

Forde to Col. Clive

Cosimbazar
29th March 1758.

Sir,

I return you many thanks for your polite letter of the 11th with which I was favor'd last night on the road between Plassey and Cosimbazar.

Accept at the same time my sincerest acknowledgements for the obliging offer you are pleased to make me, which you'll forgive me Sir if I beg leave to refuse, for as I have been satisfied in the Sum which I had determined to insist on for my remaining in India viz £5000 and was resolved to take no less, I think it would be equally unreasonable in me to receive more ; I was quite unacquainted with the promise made the Company by Mr. George Clive, and as I know nothing of the Letter with which I find you were pleased to honor me, nor consequently of the kind concern you have shewn for my Interests on this Occasion, I addressed my Demand only to the Governor and Council, and have rec'd Bills from them for that Sum.

I have the honor of Inclosing you herewith a

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 145.

return of the Company's Forces at Calcutta, which I flatter'd myself with having the pleasure of delivering you in person, but as you seem to think my joining you in Camp to be unnecessary, I shall wait here, until I hear further from you. Mr. Boddam has brought up all the Arms he can meet with, and continues so to do, and though they be not so good as could be wished, yet they may serve in Lieu of better, few of them have Bayonets, but he has receiv'd Orders to get them fitted up as expeditiously as possible.

I am Sir
Your most obedient humble Servant
Fran[s] Forde.

APPENDIX H[1]

Forde to Colonel Clive

Cosimbazar
April 11th 1758.

Sir

Yesterday I receiv'd your Favor of the first Inst. and join with you in thinking that Mr. Pigot's Letter to the Nabob is a very improper one to be deliver'd, which was the Reason that I did not intend to send it to him untill I had the pleasure of talking with you on that Subject, and indeed my chief inducement for desiring to join the Army is to make myself

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), vol. 292, p. 149.

acquainted with the Nature and Policy of the Country Governments, and also the part we are to act with regard to the different Powers, of all which I shall be able to form a better Judgement in one day's Conversation with you and Mr. Walsh than I shou'd by an intercourse of Letters in six months.

I hope before this reaches you that you will have recover'd the use of your limbs, and that I shall have the Pleasure of seeing you here soon in perfect health.

I am Sir
Your most Obedient Humble Servant
Fran[s] Forde.

My best respects wait on Mr. Walsh. I hope he is well.

APPENDIX J [1]

Forde to Colonel Clive

(1)

Sir

This day I opened the Company's packet from Fort St. George which I have sealed again and send by the Master of the Brig which brought it, there being no Chouky [2] boat here. Yesterday, the weather being moderate I sent for the Pilots to know whether we might not unmoor and fall down the river this morning. They all agreed to it, but in the evening

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), vol. 292, p. 161.

[2] River police.

they came and told me that they had accounts from a Pilot, who came up the River in the morning, but in his soundings between the Buoys he had only sixteen feet water and therefore would not undertake the Pilotage untill they had sounded it themselves. I have sent two sloops to make the experiment. They will return this evening or to-morrow morning at farthest and then I hope we shall meet with no more delays. For anything I know this may be a piece of Chicanery of the Pilots, but whether it be so or not, I could not take it upon me to force them. One of the boats with Seapoys sunk alongside of the *Hardwicke* by which we have lost about seventy stand of arms, three Seapoys were drowned. We have had no other accident of any consequence.

I am Sir
&c. &c.
Fran[s] Forde.

Kedgeree
October 3rd 1758.

(2) [1]

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 3rd inst. I have just received and I believe can with certainty assure you of the falsity of the Dutchman's report both as to a third Engagement and a ship of Force being at Masulipatam, he was very unwilling to bring to and obliged

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 165.

us to fire seven Shots at him, and by way of Revenge has raised these reports. I have spoke with several ships since and they all agree that the French have quitted the Coast without a third Engagement and they have neither seen nor heard of any Ships cruizing to the Northwards.

The Pilots at least think proper to put us in motion Yesterday, the *Ilchester* and *Thames* weighed but came to an anchor again at a League and a half distance, and this day, the *Hardwicke* and *Worcester* will follow, we have had a very tedious time of it at anchor in this place ten or eleven days but I hope this day we shall pass the Buoys at Cuckalee and in another day or two get clear of our Pilots. By all accounts Boussy has joined Lally before this time, so I expect we shall not meet with much Opposition at our first Landing and before the French can send any Force to oppose us, I hope I shall be able to make so good an Interest with the Country Government that they will find a difficult piece of work in getting footing there again.

I am dear Sir
Fran[s] Forde.

Kedgeree
October 5th 1758.

APPENDIX K[1]

To Colonel Forde
Dear Sir

As the Master of the Ship (who has sent Mr. Bisdom the account of the total overthrow of the French Squadron by ours) mentions that a French seventy four gun ship had put into Mitchlipatam, but since sailed from thence for the Islands, I have considered it is not impossible but that the enemy may have had intelligence of your Expedition, and that she may have received Orders to cruize in those parts, in order to intercept you. Nay, perhaps the whole news which it seems was brought to Mitchlipatam by a French Brigatine has been designedly spread about by the French in order to amuse us, and encourage us to go on with the Expedition.

I think it necessary to give you this hint, that you may issue out your orders to Captain Samson to keep a good look out and take the proper precautions, in case this surmise should prove true.

I am, with my hearty wishes for success to you
Dear Sir
Robert Clive.

Calcutta
3rd October 1758.

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), *India* X. p. 2580.

APPENDIX L[1]

To
The Hon'ble George Pigot Esq
President and Governor of Fort St. George
&c Council.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs

Permit me to embrace this first opportunity to inform you of my arrival here the 21st last month, Colonel Forde and the Rajah were then on their march towards Rajahmundrum, and had got so far as Satteram, before they receiv'd the news of my being here, upon which the Colonel stopp'd the Camp, and desired me to join them, I did, and was happy enough to adjust matters between them to the satisfaction of both Parties, and I hope will prove so to your Honour &c.—viz—

That all Plunder should be equally divided—

That all Conquered Countrys should be delivered to the Rajah and that he should collect the Revenues. The Seaports, Rivers, with the Towns upon them, and their Dependancies should be in the Possession of the Company and the Revenues arising thence received by them.

That no Treaty, for the disposal or Redelivery of the said Countrys be entered into without consent of both Parties—

That the Rajah is to allow Colonel Forde fifty

[1] *Letters to Fort St. George*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 127-129.

thousand Rupees per month for the expence of the Camp, commencing from the time they Anchor'd at this Barr—

The first Payment to be made upon our putting him in possession of Rajahmundry and Monthly afterwards.

That he also pay the Officers six Thousand Rupees per month, in consideration of the great expence they are at, the Payments to be made as before—

The above preliminaries settled, I addressed him for the Grants of some Countrys round about this Place in favour of the Company.

. . . . . .

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs
&c &c
John Andrews.

Vizagapatam
14th December 1758.

APPENDIX M[1]

(1)

As it is reasonable to think that Publick Demonstrations of Joy upon occasion of the Victory gained by Colonel Forde might have a good effect by raising the Spirits of our People and producing the contrary in the Enemy, it was therefore resolved to put the whole Garrison under Arms and to march them into the Covered Way, which it would suppose would alarm the Enemy and bring them to their

[1] *Public Sundry Book*, Fort St. George. No 13 of 1758/9. p. 23.

front post, and so expose them the more to our Shot, and then to fire twenty one Guns into different parts of their Quarters and Works, and give three running Fires from the Covered Way of the Whole Garrison, which was executed accordingly.

(2)

Garrison Orders by Colonel Lawrence[1]

Fort St. George.
23rd December 1758.

The whole garrison to be under Arms half an Hour after Four of Clock on the Grand Parade; they are to march from thence into the Covered Way on the North Front to fire a Feu de Joye for the great Victory our Countrymen under Colonel Forde has obtained over the French Army much superior in Number near Colconda.' All the Seapoys to mass all the Covered Way to the Westward; the Artillery to begin by firing seven Guns, after which the Infantry begins on the right of the Covered Way, the Seapoys to finish on the left, then the Artillery to fire again and fire seven guns more, the Infantry and Seapoys answer as before, then the Artillery for the last Time and also the Infantry and Seapoys.

The whole to be drawn two deep. They are to conclude with three loud Huzzas! All the Guards on the several Ports on the North and West Fronts to fall in and join in the ceremony. The Men are

[1] *Fort St. George Order Book*, Madras Military Records.

to draw their Balls, before they come to the Parade and the Balls are to be delivered to the Quarter Master.

APPENDIX N[1]

Forde to Colonel Clive.

Illour
22nd February 1759.

Dear Sir,

Your kind friendly letter of the 26th January I have received and return you my most sincere thanks for the assurances therein given of representing me in the most favourable light to those great men at the head of affairs in England. The beginning of your second Paragraph which is thus "I would have sent you more men but I think you will now have no occasion for them" is so like a Paragraph from Leadenhall Street, that I begin to fear you are turning Director on our hands, you know very well that a small command must dwindle away insensibly in such a Country as this by Death and Desertion not to mention the Accidents of War. At this Time I have sixty Men sick at Rajahmundry Hospital.

Our Friends at Madras behave most gloriously, they have made a most gallant Defence and I hope by this time they have nothing to apprehend. By the last Letters I had from Mr. Brooke, Resident at Pulicat, he says the Garrison is in high Spirits, that

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 183.

the *Shaftsbury* was arrived and the rest of Tiddemann's Squadron hourly expected, that Lally still remains before the Town and still continues obstinate, notwithstanding his great loss of Officers and Men; Captain Preston and the Nellore Subahdar are near Maskelyne's Gardens, with a considerable body of Seapoys. Major Caillaud is expected in a day or two at the Mount with the Tanjour Horse, and Abdul Nawab with a body of Country Troops is near Pondicherry. This has a good appearance and if Mr. Lally either gets into Madrass or makes good his return to Pondicherry, I shall have a great Opinion of his Capacity as a General, all is at Stake with him. A Marchall of France or Nothing.

I am &c &c
Fran[s] Forde.

APPENDIX O[1]

(1)

To The Hon'ble George Pigot Esq. & Council of Fort St. George.

10th April 1759.

Gentlemen

On the night between the 7th and 8th instant I attacked Masulipatam and after a very sharp conflict had the good fortune to get possession of it. I have taken near five hundred European Prisoners, one

[1] *Military Consultations*, (Fort St. George), vol. x, p. 140.

hundred of which are Officers Civilians and Ship people, the remainder are Soldiers, my whole force consisted of three hundred and fifteen rank and file, thirty of which were volunteer seamen belonging to the *Hardwicke*, twenty one of my people are killed and sixty wounded and one seaman killed and six wounded. I am of opinion this place should be kept in our hands as it is by far the strongest situation in India. My fifteen hundred Seapoys behaved very well, with one half of them I made a false attack and joined the other with the Europeans at the real attack, they mounted the ramparts with the Europeans and behaved with great humanity after they had got in. I have lost great numbers of them both at the false and real attack, Captain . . . . . is among the slain as is Mooden Beg, my Commandant of Seapoys. I have the honour to be Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble Servant

Francis Forde.

APPENDIX O[1]

(2)

To Colonel Clive

Masulipatam
June 16th 1759.

Dear Sir

By the last accounts from Calcutta, I find you have taken the field and that you had got within six

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), vol. 292, p. 215.

days march of Patna, which the King's son was then besieging. We are quite in the dark as to his pretensions or by whom supported; I flatter myself you will be able by this expedition to finish what you had so gloriously begun and to settle the Nabob so firmly on the throne that our enemies will never be able to give him any more uneasiness for the future.

You must have heard before this of our success at Masulipatam of which I now give an account to the Select Committee. I must allow it was a bold stroke but in my opinion absolutely necessary, time and circumstances considered, the Nabob Salabad Jung with a large army of Seapoys and Marattas had got within twenty corse (30 miles) of us and was there joined by the French Army of Observation, consisting of two hundred Europeans and two thousand Seapoys, if I had attempted to retreat they would have fallen upon my rear and no doubt when joined by the garrison of Masulipatam would have overpowered me, therefore on weighing the circumstances I thought it better to make an attempt on the town before they came too near me and accordingly on the night between the 7th and 8th, I assaulted and took the Town after a smart opposition which lasted an hour. Captains . . . . . and Molitore were killed in the assault. I am not much addicted to saying anything to the Prejudice of the living and much less of the dead, yet I cannot help giving you an account of the behaviour of Captain . . . . . from our first coming before Masulipatam to the day of his death, he constantly in public and

private opposed attacking the Town or raising any batteries against it, and when the Nabob came near us, he then endeavoured all in his power to persuade me to retreat. I could not convince him that there was very little difference in this country between a retreating army and a flying one, and that I was certain of losing more men in the Retreat than in the Assault, besides in the latter there was at least some chance in our favor, but that Retreat was inevitable ruin when surrounded with such an Army as the Nabob's who no doubt would declare against us the moment we turned our backs; finding I could not convince him I was at last oblig'd to tell him plainly I saw his intention was to raise his own credit by opposing me in this affair in case we miscarried, but desired he wou'd not in future talk so freely in publick on this head because it might intimidate the men and possibly some of the young officers, this conversation happen'd two days before the assault. The evening of the 7th I order'd the whole camp to be under arms at 10 o'clock and when everything was ready, I asked where Captain . . . . . was and sent the Adjutant to his tent to look for him, but not finding him we marched to the place appointed where we were to be joined by the battery guards. We remained at the Rendezvous about an hour waiting till the false attack began (which was made by Captain Knox with his battalion of Seapoys and was to begin at one o'clock) and then marched as fast as we could up to the middle in water and mud and after some resistance got through

the pallisade and mounted one of the Bastions and drove them from one Bastion to another, in taking the fifth Bastion Capt^{n} . . . . . was kill'd, but how he got there, the Lord Almighty knows, for not a man in our Army ever saw him from ten o'clock the evening before till about one minute before he was killed and then he was seen only by Fischer and Stibbert, when it was reported he was killed none of the Officers would believe it until they went to see themselves. Next day his boy was asked whether he knew where his master had been the night before, who said he was in his tent when the firing began and as soon as he heard it he bounc'd up and ran towards the Town as fast as he cou'd, what cou'd induce him to behave in such a manner is a mystery to us all, some of his particular Friends say that for ten or twelve days before he always declar'd he was sure he would be killed in the assault and indeed he had settl'd his Affairs in such a manner as made everybody believe he expected it, I think it was lucky for him he was kill'd for he certainly must have been broke if not worse.

Messrs Donnellan, Vaughan, Bruce and Wilding were appointed Agents for Prizes and being charg'd with taking Bribes from the Merchants for the re-delivery of their Goods, were brought to a Court martial and dismiss'd the Service.

I am dear Sir
&c &c
Fran^{s} Forde.

APPENDIX P[1]

Treaty with the Nizam 1759

A Copy of Requests made by Colonel Forde to Nawab Salabut Jung or the Viceroy of the Deckan and his compliance thereto, in his own hand.

The whole of the Circar[2] of Masulipatam with eight districts as well as the Circar of Nizampatam, and the districts of Condavir and Wacalmanuer, shall be given to the English Company as an enam (free gift) and the sunnuds granted to them in the same manner as was done to the French.

The Nawab Salabut Jung will oblige the French troops which are in his Country to pass the River Ganges within 15 Days; or send them to Pondicherry or to any other place out of the Deckan Country; on the other side of the River Kistna, in future he will not suffer them to have a settlement in this Country on any Account whatsoever, nor keep them in his service, nor assist them, nor call them to his Assistance.

The Nawab will not demand or call Gajapati Raz to an account for what he has collected out of the Circars belonging to the French, nor for the computation of the Revenue of his own Country, in the Present Year; but let him remain peaceable in it in future, and according to the Computation of the Revenue of his Country before the Time of the

[1] *Aitcheson's Treaties*, Vol. v, p. 11.

[2] Government.

French, agreeable to the custom of his Grandfather and Father, and as was then paid to the Circar, and if he (the Rajah) does not agree to it, then the Nawab may do what he pleases. In all cases the Nawab will not assist the Enemies of the English, nor give them Protection.

The English Company on their part, will not assist the Nawab's Enemies, nor give them Protection.

Dated Moon Ramadam the 16th Hegira 1175. which is the 14th May 1759.

I swear by God and his Prophet and upon the Holy Alcoran, that I with Pleasure agree to the Requests, specified in this Paper and shall not deviate from it even an Hair's breadth.

APPENDIX Q [1]

To the Hon'ble the Court of
Directors &c &c &c

. . . . . .

In our address by the *Ilchester* you were informed of an expedition having been set on foot under Lieut. Colonel Forde into the Deccan Country and in a subsequent letter by the *Worcester* we transmitted to you the agreeable news of a compleat Victory gained by our Troops over the Army commanded by the Marquis de Conflans. When the *Hardwicke* returned

[1] *Bengal Letters Received.* (India Office), Vol. iv, p. 337.

from the Southward we had the satisfaction to know that Colonel Forde had carried Masulipatam by storm. The Garrison consisted of upwards five hundred Europeans and the Force which attacked it did not exceed three hundred. An enterprize so glorious must for ever reflect lustre on the British Arms. The consequence of this Success has been very great to our Employers, for by a Treaty concluded between Sallabud Jung and Colonel Forde the Company are invested with a Grant of Masulipatam and all its Districts by which Acquisition they will reap the benefit of a Revenue of at least four lacks of Rupees per Annum besides the advantage of the exclusive Trade of that Place and the Country round about. By the same Treaty the French are declared Enemies to Sallabud Jung and are never to be permitted to set foot in Deccan.

Robert Clive.

Fort William
29th December 1759.

APPENDIX R[1]

Dear Carnac

I have received your two letters with the news of Dutch ships surrendering and the arrival of Caillaud, of both of which I give you joy. I sincerely rejoice at the arrival of Caillaud who is both willing and capable of doing the Company all the service

[1] *Orme's MSS.* vol. 292, p. 249, (India Office).

can be expected from any Officer. I forgot to mention in my letter to the Gov[r] and Council that we have only lost two men killed and three or four wounded. The Dutch have lost ten or twelve killed and about the same number wounded and Prisoners, besides a good number wounded that have got into the Fort. I am as weak as water from my late illness and shou'd never have been able to keep up, had I not dismounted one of our Gentlemen Troopers and taken his horse.

Yours sincerely
Fran[s] Forde

24th November 1759
To Captain Carnac.

APPENDIX S[1]

(1)

Forde to Colonel Clive.

Dear Sir

This morning about seven or eight o'clock, I met with the Dutch and Malays and after a fair Engagement put them entirely to the route and have killed and taken a great number of them, not much less than two hundred Europeans. They retired into the woods and I have sent Seapoys and Horse after them, when we appear'd they grounded their Baggage

[1] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), vol. 292, p. 255.

and Napsacks very regularly and advanc'd about three or four hundred paces very boldly from whence they fired smartly near half an hour and then made a fair run for it. The woods were about a mile in their rear. All our People behaved very well and we have not lost ten killed and wounded. Our two rear Guns were not got up.

I am &c. &c.
Fran[s] Forde.

2 or 3 Corse[1] from Chinsura
25th Nov[r] 1759.

APPENDIX S

(2)

Forde to Colonel Clive[2]

Dear Sir

Since I wrote you before, I think I may add two hundred more to the number of killed wounded and prisoners, exclusive of Malays. Mr. Price has charge of a large number of them. He will inform you more particularly.

I am &c &c
Fran[s] Forde.

25th November 1759.

[1] A koss = about 1¾ miles.
[2] *Orme's MSS.* (India Office), Vol. 292, p. 257.

(3)

Forde to Colonel Clive[1]

Dear Sir

I send you with the Budgerose, Colonel Razell and ten other Officers. I have not taken their paroles in writing as I am much hurried and have other more material Businness on my hands. I give you Joy of this Day's Transaction which has been more decisive than cou'd be expected. I may say within Bounds that they have lost above four hundred Europeans killed, wounded and prisoners and a great number of Malays. You may expect a number of Prisoners this night. I have the honour to be Sir yours most sincerely

Fran^{s} Forde

25th November 1759.

APPENDIX T[2]

The account of the battle of Badara as given by the Dutch East India Company.

On the 25th when the troops and other bands which, on the 22nd before, were gone on shore were, in their projected march, come near Chândanagore, they were there met by the English; who, according to their own account, to the number of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[2] *Voyage to the East Indies*, Grose. Vol, 2, p. 376.

eleven hundred and seventy, were posted very advantageously and provided with a numerous artillery. No sooner were those troops come within cannon shot but they were fired on by the English and though all the people were extremely fatigued by a very long march, which they were obliged to make for the space of three days, yet with much bravery, they stood the fire of the English, and though unprovided of any artillery, marched up with a full and steady pace to the enemy, but meeting in their way a broad and deep ditch which they were constrained to pass to avoid being destroyed by the artillery of the English, the troops in passing that ditch, fell into some disorder; the English taking advantage of this circumstance, redoubled the fire of their artillery and musquetry and the disorder already arisen, being thereby increased caused the slaughter of a part of those troops, another part was made prisoners and the rest were constrained to retire.

APPENDIX U [1]

English demands with the Dutch answers thereto

Article I

The Director and Council of Chincura shall give full satisfaction to the President and Council of Fort William for the Insult offered to the British Flag by

[1] *Bengal Public Consultations*, (India Office), Vol. 31, pp. 829-837.

the Commanders of the Dutch Ships and for the Detention of many of our Vessels which were seized and stopped in the River, contrary to the Treatys which subsist between the two Nations, and for the other acts of Hostility committed by the said Ships.

Answer. The Director and Council of Chincura declare that, as they have always been possessed with Sentiments of Peace, the Troubles which have happened to disturb the good understanding between the two Nations having only served to give them a sensible Pain, and everything which has passed below, with respect to the English Flag, and the Insults committed, is without their Order and what they regret, and perhaps done by the People of the Ships from a Misunderstanding of their Orders, with which they hope the Governor and Council will be fully satisfied.

ARTICLE II

The Director and Council of Chincura shall make good both to the Company and Individuals, all Damage done by the Commanders of their Ships, whether by their order or not, and shall immediately restore all the Vessels, Stores and Effects which may still be in their possession.

Answer. As the Dutch Vessels have also been much damaged, the real Loss will be willingly made good, but it is to be hoped the Governor and

Council will reflect equitably on this Article, and if they insist upon it, we shall endeavour to satisfy them.

Done at Garhelly. Dec[r] 1st 1759.
Richard Becher
John Cooke
John Bacheracht
J. C. Hist

Dutch Demands with the answers of the English thereto

Article I

That the English shall effect the Nabob's Return or at least prevail on him to remain quiet in his Camp, without doing us any Injury; and that the Articles of our Agreement be accepted, approved and confirmed by the Nabob's Principal as far as they concern him.

Answer. We have already made use of our Interest with the Nabob and shall continue to engage him to withdraw his Arms, the Moment the Dutch Government has fulfilled his Orders. The Articles agreed on between the English and Dutch cannot be included in the Treaty which the Government of Hughley may conclude with the Nabob's Principal.

Article II

That what has passed during the Troubles which

have now ceased, shall be mutually forgot, and an Assurance given of a perfect Friendship, Fidelity and Correspondence, being kept up between the two Nations, by their respective Chiefs, without permitting any Hostility on one Side or the Other, on any Pretence whatsoever, that each shall do his utmost to preserve this good Intelligence, and to contribute as far as possible to the good of both without assisting directly or indirectly those who would prejudice either.

Answer. Approved as far as is consistent with the Alliance between the Nabob and Us, and while Friendship subsists between our Sovereigns in Europe.

Article III

As we have neither acted by a Declaration of War, nor by Commission, our Troops and Mariners can not be considered as Prisoners of War, subject to a Capitulation, but merely as temporary Captives, and therefore ought to be set at Liberty, with all Military Honours.

Answer. We don't look upon the Dutch Officers and Troops as our Prisoners, but as those of the Nabob, and are therefore ready to release them as soon as they have concluded their Treaty with him, except such as are willing to enter into our Service, or who demand the Protection of the English Flag.

Article IV

They shall leave us in the free Possession of our Settlements, Commerce, Rights and Privileges.

Answer. We have never interrupted the Dutch, in their just Rights and Privileges, nor ever propose doing it.

Article V

That all the People, Possessions, Settlements, Lands, Houses, Ships, and Vessels, belonging both to the Company and Individuals, and everything belonging thereto, shall be declared free, and restored in Presence of the Deputies, appointed by both Parties, in their proper Condition.

Answer. All the Ships and Vessels in our Possession shall be restored, as soon as our Demands are complied with, or on an Assurance thereof, given by the Director and Council of Hughley.

Article VI

These Treatys to be exchanged with the Approbation of the Directors of both Companys as soon as possible.

Answer. Granted.

Article VII

Finally the two Parties shall be reciprocal Guarantees for the Execution of the Preceding Articles.

Answer. We do not see any Necessity for this Article.

Done at Carhelly. Dec. 1. 1759.
John Bacheracht
J. C. Hist
Done at Carhelly. Dec. 3. 1759
Richard Becher
John Cooke.

Copy of the Dutch proposals made to the Chuta Nabob, with the answers, ratified the 5th December 1759

Article I

That the Purchases and Sales of the Dutch Company be again made, in the same Manner as in Former Times.

Answer. The Purchases and Sales of the Dutch Company shall be carried on according to Custom, excepting the Saltpetre of Azimabad, which shall be

[1] This treaty was ratified by the Dutch Company at Hughli on 6th Dec[r] 1759, and by the English Company at Calcutta on 8th Dec. 1759.

purchased by the Means of Raja Ramnarian Bahadur, nor shall anyone molest them.

Article II

That Nobody cause any Obstruction in the Provision of Cloths etc. at the Aurungs [1] on the account of the Dutch Company.

Answer. Nobody shall obstruct the Provision of Cloth, etc. according to the Custom of the Aurungs, nor use any violence.

Article III

That the Goods and Treasure of the Dutch Company be allowed to pass and re-pass with the Dutch dustuck,[2] that nobody obstruct them nor any longer demand illicit Customs.

Answer. The Merchandize of the Dutch Company shall pass and re-pass by Land or by Water, free from any unprecedented impositions, nor shall Anyone demand illicit Customs.

Article IV

That Payment be made by the Officers of the Mint of Murshedabad of the Balance due to the Dutch Company.

[1] Cloth markets.

[2] A free passport for goods.

Answer. The Officers of the Mint at Murshedabad shall be made to pay whatever balance is justly and truly due to the Dutch Campany.

Articles agreed on by the Dutch Company with the Nabob, and ratified under the hands and seals of the Dutch Directors and Council, and the seals of the Company.

I. We will immediately send away the Europeans, Buccasses and Tilangas,[1] that have been brought hither in our Ships, and we will dismiss the Europeans, Seapoys and Burgundasses[2] lately entertained.

II. We will bring no more armed Forces into the Country of Bengal, nor ever make War in the Country, nor erect any Fortifications, nor make any Military Preparations.

III. We will entertain no more than 125 European Soldiers in all our Factories, established within the three Provinces.

IV. We will carry on our Trade with Peace and Quietness; and, in case (which God forbid!) our business should meet with any Obstructions, Disputes, or Oppressions, we will apply for Redress to the Nazem of the Provinces.

Given the 14th day of the month Rabbic Ussane of the Year 1172 or the 5th December 1759.

A. Bisdom. G. L. Vernet. R. H. Armenault.
M. Isinck. J. L. V. Schevikhaven. John Bacheracht.
S. De Hoog. J. C. Hist. O. W. Valk.

[1] Sepoys from Southern India, east of the Deccan.
[2] Armed civilian retainers.

APPENDIX V[1]

Amboyna was, prior to 1619, the seat of the Dutch Government in Java. During the 17th century the Dutch were the foremost maritime power in the world.

The massacre of Amboyna which made so deep an impression on the English mind, marked the climax of the Dutch hatred to us in the eastern seas. After long and bitter recriminations, the Dutch seized our Captain Towerson at Amboyna with nine Englishmen, nine Japanese and one Portuguese sailor on the 17th February, 1623. They tortured the prisoners at their trial and found them guilty of a conspiracy to surprise the garrison. The victims were executed in the heat of passion, and their torture and judicial murder led to an outburst of indignation in England.

This memorable massacre forced the British Company to retire from the Eastern Archipelago to the continent of India, and thus led to the foundation of our Indian Empire.

Ultimately, Commissioners were appointed to adjust the claims of the two nations, and the Dutch had to pay a sum of three thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds as satisfaction to the heirs of those who had suffered.

[1] *Imperial Gazeteer of India*, Hunter.

APPENDIX W [1]

Johnstown.
22nd October 1761. To Mr. Pitman.

Sir

Last post I was favored with your Letter of the 29th September, your former one must have miscarried for I never received it; the Certificate you desire from me of your Behaviour in the Dutch Affair (altho' not a military Practice) is what I cannot refuse in justice to you and myself, as you say it may be of Service to you in soliciting your Promotion, yet I should think it not necessary as I suppose you have a Certificate from the President and Council of Fort William, who I am convinced would not have granted you one had there been any objection to your character as an Officer. I wish you Success and am Sir your most obedient humble Servant

Fran[s] Forde.

Dublin.
22nd October 1761

I do hereby certifie that Lieut. Frederic Cobbe Pitman of the Honble East India Company's Forces served under my Command against the Dutch in Bengal in November 1759 and that he behaved with becoming Spirit in that Affair.

Fran[s] Forde.

[1] *Miscellaneous Letters received*, (India Office), 105 a. 105 b.

To Robert James Esq.[1]

Johnstown near Manooth.
7th March 1762.

Sir

Although it may be looked on as an Act of Presumption in me to offer any Opinion to your Honble Board, yet in justice to Captain Knox with whose merit I am thoroughly acquainted, I run the Risque of being thought impertinent rather than silent on this Occasion.

By a Letter I received from him I find he is piqued and talks of returning to Europe in case my Representations in his Favor do not meet with Success, therefore in justice to him as well as regard for the Interest of the Settlement and good of the Service, I shall take the Liberty of saying something in his behalf which I am certain will be seconded by all who have any personal knowledge of the Military Affairs of India for some Years past.

Had I a Command in India, Captain Knox is the Man of all my Acquaintance, I would choose for my second, his known gallant Behaviour on all Occasions, his Activity in executing all Orders, his Humanity and I will say his strength of Constitution qualifie him for the Service of that Country better than any Officer I know; another very great Qualification is his being respected and esteem'd by the Country Powers and particularly by our own

[1] *Miscellaneous Letters received*, (India Office), Vol. 44, p. 94 a.

Seapoys who are inspired by unusual Confidence when he is at their head. I would therefore recommend it to the Honble Court of Directors to retain him in their Service by appointing him Major, which will be doing an Act of Justice, very conducive, I hope, to their own Interests, as well as proper Reward for an Officer of approv'd Merit, who has distinguished himself in their Service. You will oblige me by laying this before the Gentlemen in the Direction, who I hope will excuse this manner of addressing them, being unacquainted with the Forms of the Board.

I am &c &c
Fran[s] Forde.

APPENDIX X[1]

Johnstown
20th June 1769.

Sir,

Yesterday about noon, I received your favor of the 14th and think myself highly honored by the appointment and am fully sensible of the importance of the trust which I shall endeavour to execute to the utmost of my abilities.

I intend setting out from hence on Friday next and hope to be in London, the latter end of next week.

I am Sir &c &c
Fran[s] Forde.

[1] *Miscellaneous Letters received*, (India Office) Vol. 52, p. 198.

To P.ᵈ Mitchell Esq.
The East India House
London.

APPENDIX Y[1]

To The Honble
The Court of Directors
of the United East India Company.

Gentlemen,

We arrived here 11th and shall sail again this evening. The *Stagg* came in the day before Us and the *Hawke* the same morning and they proceeded on their Voyage last night.

Captain Lee does everything possible to make the Voyage agreeable and the Consul here has shewn Us the utmost Civility.

We have taken the Liberty to leave Directions with Messrs Scott, Pringle, Cheap and Company to add five Pipes of Wine of the first sort to your Orders of this Season for our own Use, and to send one of them in each of the five Ships, which are destined to call here.

We are with respect

Gentlemen
Your most obedient humble Servants
Henry Van Sittart
Luke Scrafton
Fran.ˢ Forde.

Madeira
16 Oct. 1769.

East Indies Home Series. Misc. Vol. 204. (India Office).

APPENDIX Z[1]

Cape of Good Hope
the 20th December 1769

Gentlemen . .

The *Aurora* anchored in Table Bay the 6th of this month and the *Stag* the next day. Your Ship *Thames* homeward bound from Madras called here in September and we learn that she carried the news of a Peace made with Hyder Aly. Not having the Particulars we shall only at present add our Hopes that the Conditions are such as may be productive of a lasting Tranquillity and give us Leisure to apply our principal Attention to the improvement of our Revenues and Commerce, and the establishment of good Order where it may be wanted. We enclose a List of French Ships which have touch'd here since the 21st January 1767. The Men and Officers they had on Board appear to have been draughts from several Regiments intended to compleat their Force at the Islands to four thousand Men. By the Intelligence we can procure here their principal Object at present seems to be an Establishment upon the east Coast of the Island of Madagascar, the Count of Mandava who was Lieutenant Colonel of the Lorrain Regiment is at Port Dauphin and has the Command of this new Settlement, concerning which we shall take Measures upon our arrival in India, to procure

[1] *Miscellaneous Letters received*, vol. 52, p. 303, (India Office.)

more perfect Intelligence and transmit to you as soon as possible. We found here your Ship *Duke of Kingston* of whose misfortune off St. — you have been already informed and of the Measures which Captain Morrison took in consequence.

The *Ponsborne* from China arrived here the 12th and affords us the Opportunity of transmitting this Address. Our next will be from Madras for which place we shall sail to-morrow. The *Hawke* sloop not arriving here till the 17th will not be ready to proceed with the *Stag* and the *Aurora*. By the Officers of the French Ship, which left Pondicherry the 5th October we were informed that all was quiet upon the Coast at that time. We have directed Mr. Day to draw upon Mr. Mitchell for £432—for sundry Expences here, at Portsmouth and at Madeira of which an Account shall be transmitted to you from Madras.

We are with respect
Gentlemen
your most obedient and humble servants
Henry Van Sittart
Luke Scrafton
Fran[s] Forde.

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